FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-052
Friday
16 March 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-52 CONTENTS *16 March 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

Mladenov Greets Gorbachev on Election *[Sofia Radio]* 1
Albania's Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit *[ATA]* 1
  Malile Says Relations 'Good' *[BTA]* 1
  Malile Meets Counterpart *[ATA]* 2
  Malile Signs Agreements *[ATA]* 2
  Cooperation Pact Signed *[BTA]* 3
  Malile Meets Lilov, Vulkov *[BTA]* 3
  Dinner Held for Malile *[ATA]* 4
  Mladenov Receives Malile *[BTA]* 4
  Malile Meets With Todorov *[ATA]* 4
  Speaks on Balkan Problems *[BTA]* 5
  Further on Malile Talks *[BTA]* 5
  Ganev Receives Malile *[ATA]* 5
  Albanian Embassy Reception *[ATA]* 5
  Malile Ends Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Greek Communist Proposes 'Balkan Helsinki' *[BTA]* 6
Lukanov Speaks at Roundtable *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Lukanov Discusses Government Tasks *[NARODNA MLADEZH 17 Feb]* 10
Roundtable Discusses Market Reform *[BTA]* 11
List of Roundtable Agreements' Signatories *[NARODNA ARMIYA 13 Mar]* 11
New Oil Field Found in Northern Bulgaria *[BTA]* 12
Government, Trade Unions Sign Agreement *[BTA]* 12
'Sredets' Merchant Bank Founded in Sofia *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Feb]* 12
Advertizing Magazine Issue Planned *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Feb]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG President, Foreign Minister Visit Prague 14
  Genscher Arrives 14 Mar *[Prague Radio]* 14
  Von Weizsaecker Arrives *[CTK]* 14
  Dual Talks Begin *[Prague Radio]* 14
  Havel Speech Remembers 1939 *[Prague Radio]* 14
  Favors 'Good Neighborliness' *[Mainz ZDF TV]* 16
  Talks 'Open, Friendly' *[CTK]* 18
  Archbishop Meets Von Weizsaecker *[CTK]* 19
  Gala at Castle Ends Visit *[Prague Radio]* 19
Dienstbier Address Outlines Foreign Policy *[CTK]* 19
Havel Congratulates Gorbachev on Election *[Prague TV]* 20
Balcar Comments on Vienna Armed Forces Talks *[CTK]* 20
Delegation Begins Working Visit in Finland *[CTK]* 20
  Visit Priorities Outlined *[CTK]* 20
  Calfa Arrives; Attends Dinner *[CTK]* 20
Sacher Meets With Pope, Italian Party Chief *[CTK]* 21
Civic Forum Organizing for Pre-Election Campaign *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Mar]* 21
Parties Fail to Reach Agreement on Coalition *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 12 Mar]* 21
Moravian-Silesian Initiative Forges Platform *[Bratislava PRAVDA 14 Mar]* 22
University Group Condemns Civic Forum's Cibulka *[Prague Radio]* 22
Civic Forum Official Dismisses Popularity Fall *[Prague Radio]* 22
Slovak National Front Issues Statement *[Bratislava Radio]* 22

Socialist Party To Merge With Exile Group *[CTK]* 23
Private Farmers' Party Presents Demands *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 12 Mar]* 23
All-People's Party To Enter Elections *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Mar]* 23
New Organization Seeks Prisoners' Protection *[RUDE PRAVO 13 Mar]* 24
Exile Journal Announces Home Publication *[CTK]* 24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

De Maiziere: Coalition Only With Whole Alliance *[ADN]* 25
    De Maiziere Interviewed *[Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA 24 Feb]* 25
Berlin Daily Cites Modrow on Unification *[ADN]* 26
PDS To Expand Activities Into FRG *[Hamburg DPA]* 26
PDS' Gysi Addresses Various Issues 26
    On Social Security *[Vienna NEUE AZ 15 Mar]* 26
    Stresses Political Stability *[ADN]* 27
    On Abolishing Conscription *[ADN]* 27
PDS' Hans Willerding Interviewed *[Madrid MUNDO OBRERO 14-20 Feb]* 27
SPD's Boehme on Social Rights in New Germany *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 13 Mar]* 29
CTK Interviews Eppelmann on Relations 29
'Alliance-90' Candidate on Path to Unity *[ADN]* 29
Liberal Democrats Outline Election Policy *[East Berlin TV]* 30
Banned Republikaner Said Increasing Activities *[ADN]* 30
8 Parties Hold Election Roundtable *[East Berlin TV]* 30
Meyer News Conference on Economy *[ADN]* 33
Lufthansa Buys Interflug Shares *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Mar]* 34
GDR-FRG Cultural Commission Established *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10-11 Mar]* 34
FRG-GDR Declaration on Postal Union Signed *[Hamburg DPA]* 34
Convertible Currency Trade With USSR Set *[ADN]* 34

HUNGARY

Proceedings of Closing National Assembly Session *[Budapest Radio]* 36
    Nemeth Address *[Budapest Radio]* 36
    Szuros Address *[Budapest Radio]* 38
1848 Revolution Commemorated in Speeches *[MTI]* 39
MSZMP Chairman Offers Cooperation to MSZP *[Hungarian Radio]* 40
10,000 Demonstrators Demand Free Press *[Budapest Radio]* 40
MSZDP Official Warns Against MSZP Aims *[Budapest Radio]* 40
Free Democrats' Leader Addresses Budapest Rally *[Budapest Radio]* 40
MNP Calls for Equal Publicity Opportunities *[Budapest Radio]* 41
Coalition, TU Group Hold Election Meetings *[Budapest Radio]* 41
Horn Addresses Students on Issues of Magyarhood *[Budapest Radio]* 41
Austria-Romania Visa Suspension Affects Entries *[MTI]* 41
Applications To Immigrate to S. Africa Increase *[Johannesburg SAPA]* 41
    More Than 15,000 Apply in Vienna *[AFP]* 42
Kuwaiti Oil Minister Ends Official Visit *[MTI]* 42
Thai Foreign Minister Leaves Budapest *[MTI]* 42
    Trade Expansion Planned *[Bangkok BANGKOK POST 16 Mar]* 42

POLAND

Jaruzelski Congratulates Gorbachev on Election *[PAP]* 43
    Walesa Sends Cable *[PAP]* 43
    Mazowiecki Cables Congratulations *[PAP]* 43
Skubiszewski on Participation in German Talks *[PAP]* 43
Spokeswoman on Participation in German Conference *[Warsaw TV]* 43
Commentary Notes French Support for Poland *[Blumsztayn in GAZETA WYBORCZA 10-11 Mar]* 44
Democratic Left Caucus Leader on German Issue *[Warsaw Radio]* 44
Walesa Discusses Czech, National Developments *[LIDOVE NOVINY 3 Mar]* 44
Solidarity Paper Applauds Walesa's USSR Visit *[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 26 Jan]* 46
Balcerowicz 'Moderately Optimistic' on Economy *[Warsaw Radio]* 47

Mazowiecki Views Army Changes, PZPR Property *[PAP]* 47
New KPN Weekly OPINIA Published *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 6 Mar]* 47
Censor's Office Faces Uncertain Future *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 6 Mar]* 47
Publishing Giant Ready To Apportion Property *[TRYBUNA 12 Mar]* 48
Social Democratic Party Foreign Policy Position *[TRYBUNA 12 Mar]* 49
Solidarity Presidium Meets in Gdansk *[PAP]* 49
PSL Rebirth Committee Meets on Economy *[PAP]* 50
Mazowiecki Meets PSL Solidarity Activists *[PAP]* 50
Union of Social Democracy Forms Caucus *[PAP]* 50

ROMANIA

Iliescu Congratulates Gorbachev on Election *[ROMPRES]* 51
Vatra Romaneasca Calls for Coexistence, Respect *[ROMPRES]* 51
Satu Mare Demonstration for Ties With Minorities *[ROMPRES]* 51
Magyars Accused of Seeking Political Advantage *[ROMPRES]* 51
Transportation Accord Signed With Hungary *[ROMPRES]* 52
Hungarians 'Do Not Want To Dismember' Romania *[ROMPRES]* 52
'Chauvinist Elements' Pull Down Romanian Statue *[ROMPRES]* 52
'Vatra Romaneasca' Protests Transylvania Acts *[ROMPRES]* 52
Arad Meeting Commemorates 1848 Revolution *[ROMPRES]* 52
    Tirgu Mures Celebrates *[ROMPRES]* 53
Clashes with Magyars in Transylvania *[Budapest Radio]* 53
Bucharest's Cooperation Projects Viewed *[ROMPRES]* 53
Premier Roman Receives IAEA Director General *[ROMPRES]* 53
Premier Roman Receives French Businessmen *[ROMPRES]* 54
Timisoara Investigation Should End 17 Mar *[ROMPRES]* 54
Prosecution Testimony Heard in Genocide Trial *[ROMPRES]* 54
Timisoara Trial Ends; Witnesses' Hearing Starts *[ROMPRES]* 54
President Iliescu Conducts News Conference *[ROMPRES]* 55
    Warns Against 'Witch Hunt' *[ROMPRES]* 55
    Describes Himself as 'Nonconformist' *[ROMPRES]* 56
PNUC Approves Street, Place Names Change *[ROMPRES]* 57
PNUC Members' Statements on Election Law *[ROMPRES]* 57
Democratic Party's Zilisteanu on Revolution *[ADEVARUL 22 Feb]* 57
Labor Minister on Country's Unemployment *[ROMPRES]* 58
Radio Interviews Civil Rights Activist Cornea *[Budapest Radio]* 58
Chitac on Reorganization of Interior Ministry *[ROMPRES]* 58
Mazilu Defends his Activity, Position *[ROMPRES]* 59
Court President on Reorganization of Justice *[ROMPRES]* 59
Iasi Press Strike Extends to Bacau *[ROMPRES]* 59
New Society, Gypsy, Democracy Alliance Parties *[ROMPRES]* 59
List of Parties Registered Since 21 Feb *[ROMPRES]* 60

YUGOSLAVIA

President Drnovsek Congratulates Gorbachev *[TANJUG]* 61
    'Respect' for Policies Noted *[TANJUG]* 61
'Greater Bulgaria' Aspirations Viewed *[Teslic in BORBA 10-11 Mar]* 61
Albanian Foreign Minister on Kosovo Situation *[TANJUG]* 62
Loncar Talks with Arab Foreign Ministers *[TANJUG]* 62
Loncar Meets Tunisian Prime Minister *[TANJUG]* 62
Loncar Arrives in Morocco for Visit *[TANJUG]* 63
    Meets Cabinet Officials *[TANJUG]* 63
    Meets With Political Parties *[TANJUG]* 63
    Received by King Hassan *[TANJUG]* 63
Loncar Letter to UN Criticizes Albania *[TANJUG]* 64
Parliament Adopts Proposal on Constitution *[TANJUG]* 65
Federal Money Supply Problems Viewed *[Kesic in BORBA 8 Mar]* 65
Markovic Discusses Finances With Bankers *[TANJUG]* 66
Federation Falling Behind in Payments to Army *[POLITIKA 8 Mar]* 67

Newspaper Supports Extension of Assembly Term *[Lorenci in DELO 24 Feb]* 67
Presidency Supports Constitutional Proposals *[POLITIKA 9 Mar]* 68
Federal Chamber on Citizens Associations Law *[TANJUG]* 68
Citizens Forum Against Confidential Legislature *[TANJUG]* 69
Democratic Initiative Petitions Assembly *[TANJUG]* 69
Serbian Commission Views Constitution Issues *[TANJUG]* 69
Serbian Students, Teachers Issue Statement *[TANJUG]* 69
Split in Serbian National Renaissance Cited *[TANJUG]* 70
Reform Program of Serbian LC Session Noted *[TANJUG]* 70
    Presents Draft Platform *[TANJUG]* 73
Serbia's Bogdanovic Speaks at Kosovo Protest *[RILINDJA 10 Mar]* 74
Law on Serbia's Public Loan Amended *[POLITIKA 23 Feb]* 75
Slovenian Social Democrat Leader Cited *[Rome AVANTI! 23 Feb]* 75
Resignations From LC in Kosovo *[RILINDJA 24 Feb]* 76

Mladenov Greets Gorbachev on Election

AU1603074990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov has sent a greetings message to Mikhail Gorbachev, which reads:

Please accept my most cordial greetings on your election as USSR president.

The establishment of the institution of presidency in the USSR is another step of the processes of restructuring and renewal in Soviet society.

I wish you good health and success in this highly responsible post, in the interest of the well-being of the Soviet peoples, and in the interest of world peace and security.

I take this opportunity to express confidence that cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR will continue to develop fruitfully for the benefit of our fraternal peoples, the message reads.

Albania's Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

AU1303134090 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 13 (ATA)—At the invitation of the minister of foreign affairs of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria, Boyko Dimitrov, the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, left on an official and friendly visit to Sofia on March 12.

On March 12, too, the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, arrived in Sofia where he was received by the minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Boyko Dimitrov, and other officials of the Foreign Ministry.

Present to welcome him were also the ambassador of Albania in Sofia, Bashkim Rama, and the ambassador of Bulgaria in Tirana, Khristaki Kunev.

On this occasion, the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, made a press statement. After expressing his pleasure for the invitation and the reception extended to him by the foreign minister, Dimitrov, he underlined: "We come to friendly Bulgaria with the feelings of friendship and respect the Albanian people nurture for the Bulgarian people, for this country with distinguished traditions in the history of the Balkans. Our two peoples have been traditionally closely linked with one another.

As a result of the good will and joint efforts, steps forward have been made in the recent years in the development of the friendly relations and cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria. I am convinced that the talks I shall have with my colleague, the foreign minister, Dimitrov, and with other Bulgarian senior personalities will be permeated by a cordial and constructive spirit and will create other possibilities to raise to a higher level the cooperation between our two countries. At the same time, the positive development of the Albanian-Bulgarian relations serves the cause of peace and security in the Balkans.

It is understandable that in the present political circumstances, when we are witnessing rapid development in Europe, the Balkans, too, should contribute to the positive processes. This arises the need to promote further the process of the Balkan cooperation, to create a sound atmosphere of confidence, to overcome the obstacles through sincere dialogue and political realism."

On this part, the foreign minister, Dimitrov, wished welcome to our minister for foreign affairs and voiced his confidence that this visit will contribute to the further development of friendly relations and of cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria.

On March 12, evening, the Bulgarian television broadcast an interview our foreign minister, Reis Malile, granted to a Bulgarian TV group in Tirana, before leaving for Bulgaria.

On his way to Bulgaria, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, passed in transit in Skopje, where he was received by the vice-chairman of the Executive Council of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Macedonia, Tito Petkovski, and the republican secretary for foreign affairs, Rika Lovski, who gave a lunch in his honor and of the members of the delegation.

Malile Says Relations 'Good'

AU1303081490 Sofia BTA in English 2216 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—The Albanian foreign minister assesses Albanian-Bulgarian relations as good and thinks that the values of bilateral contacts is growing along the years. Mr Reis Malile stressed in an interview broadcast on Bulgarian TV tonight that bilateral relations should improve by exchange of visits of parliamentarians and social figures.

The leader of the Albanian diplomacy gave the interview in Tirana in relation with his official visit to Bulgaria, which starts today. He says that during his visit three agreements are expected to be signed: on cooperation in the sphere of culture, air travel and medical care.

The Albanian foreign minister expressed the need of activation of bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the Balkan states, and said he is aware of the difficulties in these processes: some of them inherited from the past, others, created by circles which did not comply with the new realities.

Mr Reis Malile dwelled on the Balkan people's relative economic backwardness and the need of cooperation for its overcoming. Time has come for Balkan interaction to enter a more concrete phase, he said.

The foreign minister placed the accent on mutual work of the Balkan states in the development of the principles of good neighborliness in this part of the world.

Malile Meets Counterpart

AU1403133890 Tirana ATA in English
0910 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—In continuation of his official and friendly visit to the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria, talks began on March 13 at the seat of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry between the ministers for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and of the PR of Bulgaria.

Voicing his satisfaction over the visit of the Albanian foreign minister to Bulgaria the Bulgarian foreign minister said that this visit lays the foundations of an intensive cooperation between our two countries and peoples in all the domains. This is an important contribution to the intensification of cooperation on the basis of mutual interests and in a broader European context. After speaking of the internal situation and developments in Bulgaria, Boyko Dimitrov appreciated the steps taken in the Albanian-Bulgarian relations and laid the stress on the need of a more intensive political dialogue and broader contacts in the economic and political fields between the two countries, parliaments, senior personalities and various social organizations. We, he pointed out, must rely on the interests uniting us and must create other possibilities to forge ahead.

The Foreign Minister Reis Malile after appreciating the friendly relations existing between Albania and Bulgaria, underlined that recently the bilateral cooperation has assumed fresh developments in various fields as in the political, economic, trade, cultural, scientific and technical fields, etc. Greater possibilities are also created in the field of industrial cooperation.

The two ministers voiced their desire that these relations develop constantly. The political developments in the region and the common interests lay the need of intensifying and strengthening these relations. The agreement we reached today and those to be signed in the future will provide the cooperation of the two countries with a stable base.

Regarding the situation in the Balkans, Reis Malile said that the Albanian Government works that stability and tranquility prevail in the region. Albania is determined to forge ahead on the road of the Balkan process and it will spare no effort that in cooperation with the other countries to ensure a greater engagement in order to consolidate this process, to overcome the obstacles and solve the disagreements through understanding, dialogue and confidence. An expression of such an engagement is the coming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries to be held in Tirana in October this year. He voiced the desire that after the present phase of knowing in various fields of the cooperation among the Balkan countries, their materialisation start gradually.

The foreign minister Reis Malile and his colleague, Boyko Dimitrov exchanged opinions on various political questions and on the developments which preoccupy the peoples of the Balkans, Europe and broader, and stressed the value and importance of the concrete contribution to the cooperation, peace, stability and security.

The Foreign Minister Reis Malile invited the Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov for a visit to Albania. He accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Attending these talks were functionaries of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both countries.

On March 13 too, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile paid homages and laid a wreath on the Monument of the Unknown Soldier in the center of Sofia. Here he was received by Stefan Staykov, vice minister of foreign affairs. In the course of this ceremony, the wind orchestra played the national anthems of Albania and Bulgaria.

Malile Signs Agreements

AU1403142090 Tirana ATA in English
0917 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—The agreement on cultural and scientific agreement between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria was signed in Sofia on March 13.

The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by the minister of foreign affairs of Albania, Reis Malile, whereas for the Bulgarian side by the minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Boyko Dimitrov.

The agreement foresees cooperation between the two countries in the field of culture, science, education, mass media and sports, exchange of artistic groups, artists, personalities of culture, scientific working people, the organisation of cultural and scientific activities, the establishment of contacts between the academies of sciences, universities, research institutions etc. Likewise, the agreement foresees cooperation between the news agencies, radio-televisions, exchanges of artistic, scientific literature, textbooks, etc.

On March 14, too, the agreement on the cooperation in the field of health and medical science between the governments of the PSR of Albania and the PR of Bulgaria was signed.

For the Albanian side the agreement was signed by the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, whereas for the Bulgarian side by the minister of foreign affairs, Boyko Dimitrov.

This agreement foresees cooperation between the two countries in various fields of health service, medicine, exchange of medical experience, cooperation on the production of medical preparations and electronic equipments for medicine, the participation of specialists in scientific, medical activities etc.

The ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries signed also the agreement between the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Government of the PR of Bulgaria on the establishment of the airline between and through their territories.

Attending the signing ceremony of these agreements were also members of the two delegations as well as the Ambassador of Albania in Sofia Bashkim Rama and the ambassador of Bulgaria in Tirana, Khristaki Kunev.

After signing the agreements, the foreign ministers of both countries uttered statements for the press in the presence of the Bulgarian and Albanian reporters. Answering to the questions, the Bulgarian foreign minister, Boyko Dimitrov, said that the visit of the Albanian government delegation to Sofia lays sound foundations of fruitful cooperation between our two peoples and countries. The possibilities for the expansion of this cooperation became greater and to this testifies the agreements we signed. The talks were held in a friendly atmosphere and mutual views were exchanged on fundamental problems of the foreign policy, the development and perspective of the Albanian-Bulgarian relations. These positive relations, he said, constitute a contribution to peace, security and stability in the Balkans and Europe.

The Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile said that as a result of the good political will, which is an expression of the aspirations of our peoples and joint efforts of our two governments, in the recent years the relations have experienced important and positive developments, which respond to the interests of our two peoples and the promotion of the process of the Balkan understanding and cooperation, as well as to peace and security in the Balkans and broader. In our talks we drew a balance sheet of the relations of friendship and cooperation, which will gain a fresh impulse and will be further consolidated in the future to the benefit of our two peoples and countries.

Cooperation Pact Signed

AU1303173690 Sofia BTA in English
1509 GMT 13 Mar 90

["Bulgaria, Albania: Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The leader of the Albanian diplomacy today defined the relations between Albania and Bulgaria as friendly. On the second day of his business visit Mr. Reis Malile, Albanian minister of foreign affairs, stated before journalists that what has been achieved in the development of the two countries' relations is a good basis for their future activation.

The guest pointed out that it is necessary to extend the economic, cultural and scientific cooperation. The three agreements on interaction in the field of culture, aviation and health care signed this morning reflect the desire of the governments of the two countries to promote the bilateral relations.

After the meeting he had with his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, Mr. Reis Malile made a statement pointing out the necessity of activating the political dialogue on different levels, enhancing cooperation, peace and security in the Balkans and strengthening the all-European process.

The visit of the Albanian foreign minister to Bulgaria the first in decades will contribute to the expansion of the contractual and legal basis of bilateral cooperation, Mr. Boyko Dimitrov said before journalists. The first round of the negotiations passed in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, mutual understanding and respect for the position of each side on the key problems of internal and foreign policy.

The Bulgarian foreign minister pointed out that in the last years some negative aspects resulting from the influence of conjuncture and outside factors have been overcome. The present talks confirmed the presence of a sound basis for the promotion of bilateral relations, he went on to say.

Mr. Boyko Dimitrov laid a stress on the two countries' desire to live in peace and to contribute to the Balkan understanding. Both countries are interested in finding their own place in changing Europe by strictly observing the basic principles of international law. Bulgaria and Albania are interested in the achievement of security and stability in Europe.

The documents signed will activate the two countries' relations in culture, science, arts, education, sports and will stimulate the exchange of information. Exchange of specialists and reciprocal visits of creative workers are also envisaged.

The agreement concluded by the two governments in the field of health care and the medical science envisages interaction in the organization, management and planning of health care, training medical personnel, carrying out researches in the field of folk medicine, production of medical equipment and exchange of specialists.

Malile Meets Lilov, Vulkov

AU1303205190 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] wants to promote its ties and to activate its bilateral cooperation with the Albanian Party of Labor. At the meeting today between Mr Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BCP Supreme Council, and Mr Reis Malile, the visiting minister of foreign affairs of Albania, the sides reaffirmed their shared desire to upgrade interaction in line with the new realities in Europe and the world.

Mr Lilov discussed in detail the BCP plans to take the country out of the crisis and to reform all public life on a democratic basis. An emphasis was laid on the ideas to build democratic socialism and on the Bulgarian Communists' commitment and determination to work on the holding of free democratic elections in this country.

Mr Reis Malile conferred with Mr Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS). The guest was familiarized with the BZNS history and with its role for the consolidation of the democratization processes in Bulgaria, as well as with the party's willingness to keep contributing to the strengthening of Bulgaro-Albanian relations.

The sides expressed views on matters of Balkan cooperation and agreed that multilateral cooperation should be strengthened and that the policy line adopted at the Belgrade ministerial meeting should be further promoted.

Over the last five years there has been a visible growth of Bulgaro-Albanian commercial exchanges and the sides want to maintain this upward tendency. At the talks which Mr Reis Malile held with Mr Ivan Tenev, minister of the economy and planning, the two considered the opportunities for cooperation in power engineering, the chemical industry, metallurgy, electronics, electrical engineering, mining and the building materials industry. They singled out specialization and cooperation, joint investment, and the contacts between the two countries' chambers of commerce.

Dinner Held for Malile

AU1403144890 Tirana ATA in English
0935 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—The foreign minister of Bulgaria, Boyko Dimitrov gave an official dinner on March 13, in honour of the Foreign Minister of Albania Reis Malile.

During the dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the two ministers evaluated the traditional friendship linking the Albanian people with the Bulgarian one and expressed the confidence that in the future these relations and the cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria will strengthen further. They wished prosperity and happiness to the two peoples.

Present were also the minister of home trade and services and chairwoman of the Joint Bulgarian-Albanian Economic Commission, Ekaterina Marinova; the minister of culture, Krustyu Goranov; the minister of agriculture and food industry, Todor Pandov; and the vice-chairman of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Aleksandur Strezov.

Mladenov Receives Malile

AU1403164490 Sofia BTA in English
1343 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 March (BTA)—At today's meeting between Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's State Council president and Mr Reis Malile, Albania'a foreign affairs minister, who is paying an official visit to this country, it was said that there are all conditions for a more dynamic development of bilateral relations. In connection with that a high estimation was given to the agreements, signed yesterday for cooperation in the sphere of culture, medical care and aviation.

Issues were discussed related to Balkan cooperation and a stress was made that there are prospects for strengthening of peace and interaction between the countries from this part of the world. The two countries common wish was confirmed to work in future, too for the development of the positive trends in the Balkans.

Mr Peter Mladenov's opinion on the issues under consideration are realistic, broad-minded and analytical, the leader of the Albanian diplomacy told journalists after the meeting.

Malile Meets With Todorov

AU1503142790 Tirana ATA in English
0907 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—On March 14, before noon, the chairman of Bulgaria's National Assembly, Stanko Todorov, received the minister for foreign affairs of Albania, Reis Malile. After wishing welcome, he highly assessed the results of the talks and the signing of the agreements.

On this occasion Stanko Todorov asked the foreign minister, Reis Malile, to convey his greetings to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Ramiz Alia.

He stressed further on that this encounter serves the extension of the relations and expressed at the same time the desire for the establishment of contacts between the parliaments of our two countries.

In his speech, Reis Malile, emphasized that it is a pleasure to meet wish senior representatives of the Bulgarian people. We follow with interest the life of the Bulgarian people, proceeding from the friendly sentiments the Albanian people cherish for them.

Reis Malile pointed out that in the deepening of the bilateral cooperation, the role of the parliaments is great and a great deal might be obtained from the contacts between them in the political, economic, and social fields etc.

In course of the talk in was pointed out that the parliamentary contacts serve the strengthening of the friendly atmosphere not only between our two peoples and countries, but also on Balkan scale. No one can be indifferent towards the current problems in the Balkans and it should not be allowed that the chauvinistic passions spoil the atmosphere of relations between the Balkan countries, which is maintained and strengthened through joint efforts.

Speaks on Balkan Problems

AU1403164590 Sofia BTA in English
1448 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The national problem is among the most delicate in the Balkans, said today Reis Malile, Albania's foreign minister, who is paying an official visit to this country told journalists that the national problems should be considered patiently and properly, that their "eruption" should not be allowed at any cost. Their interpretation should lead to decrease of tension but, unfortunately, there are forces in the Balkans which push towards dangerous process, he added.

The guest determined the situation in Kosovo as particularly grave. The issues is raised as follows: The trends in Europe and in the Balkans to reduce tensions and strengthen understanding between peoples presupposes a dialogue with Albanians in Kosovo, so as to be able to solve the problems with respect and an appropriate approach, Reis Malile said. In relation with that he condemned certain actions on the part of Yugoslavia, the attempts to transfer internal problems to others, which is of nobody's avail.

We would like that both in Kosovo and in the whole of Yugoslavia there is stability, and that relations between Yugoslavia and Albania develop as between good neighbours, which refers also to all of the other Balkan states, Reis Malile said.

Further on Malile Talks

AU1403195690 Sofia BTA in English
1831 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Reis Malile, who is paying an official visit to Bulgaria, confirmed at their meeting this evening the two countries' desire to promote their relations. The Bulgarian premier pointed out the growing mutual confidence and expressed his desire of cooperation outside the field of economy too.

Mr Reis Malile pointed out about Albania's interest in the changes in Bulgaria.

At the meeting of Mr Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of Albania, and Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, the two sides expressed a shared readiness for the re-establishment and the promotion of the two countries' interparliamentary contacts which are an important factor in bilateral relations.

Mr Stanko Todorov told about the activity of the Bulgarian Parliament and the ideas about its future work as a permanently functioning body. He spoke about the bills of the political parties, the elections and the amendments to the Constitution which are to be submitted at the forthcoming session of the supreme legislative body of the country. The chairman of the National Assembly said that it is planned to dissolve the parliament because of the preparation for the elections

Mr Reis Mallile had also talks with Mr Ginyo Ganev, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

Ganev Receives Malile

AU1503143190 Tirana ATA in English
0917 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—During his official and friendly visit to Bulgaria, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, met with Ginyu Ganev, chairman of the Patriotic Front National Council of Bulgaria, and had a friendly talk with him.

At this meeting they spoke of the friendship between the Albanian people and the Bulgarian one and of the role played by the Front organizations for the progress of the society in the respective countries.

In his speech, Ginyu Ganev stressed that the Patriotic Front, as an organization of the people's unity, has historically been on the side of Albanian people and their struggle for national liberation. Our two peoples are tied by close friendship which will be further promoted in the future.

The foreign minister, Reis Malile, conveying the greetings of the Democratic Front of Albania, said that our duty is to strengthen the links between the two organizations of the broad masses of the Albanian and Bulgarian people.

Albanian Embassy Reception

AU1503143490 Tirana ATA in English
0921 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in Sofia, Bashkim Rama, gave a reception at the embassy seat on occasion of the visit of the Albanian foreign minister, Reis Malile, to Bulgaria.

Attending were Boyko Dimitrov, minister for foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and other senior personalities, as well as representatives of the Bulgarian press and radio-television.

The reception passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Malile Ends Visit

AU1603110090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] A short while ago our colleague Galina Khristova returned from Sofia airport, where at the end of the visit of the Albanian foreign minister, Reis Malile and Boyko Dimitrov met journalists.

[Begin recording] [Khristova] This was the last meeting of the two ministers with journalists during Malile's visit here. Naturally, the interest focused on the results of the visit. We could form an opinion on the results on the basis of the warm atmosphere at the press conference hall and the calm and friendly mood of Boyko Dimitrov and Reis Malile.

Let me first quote the opinion of the Bulgarian foreign minister on the talks. As far as I am concerned, Minister Boyko Dimitrov said, this visit was useful, important, and successful. It marked a new stage in developing bilateral cooperation both by the specific contents of the talks and the three agreements that we signed, and by the exchange of opinions on the possibility of expanding cooperation between the two countries. It was confirmed that the two countries are willing and ready to cooperate in strengthening peace, stability, and cooperation in the Balkans.

Boyko Dimitrov's assessment was supported by Minister Malile. He pointed out that the visit was exceptionally friendly, and expressed satisfaction with the results of his talks with Boyko Dimitrov, the meetings with Petur Mladenov and Andrey Lukanov, and the contacts with different political forces in the country.

The news conference also provided a piece of news.

[Malile, fading into Bulgarian translation read by Khristova] I had the pleasure to invite Boyko Dimitrov to visit Albania. He accepted the invitation, and will not be revealing a secret if I say that the visit will take place very soon. There is no doubt that the forthcoming visit will further strengthen the development of our relations.

Thus the Albanian foreign minister's visit, the first in the last 30 years, ended. The news conference today showed that Bulgarian-Albanian relations are acquiring a new quality, and we all are convinced that the all-Balkan contacts will benefit from this fact. [end recording]

Greek Communist Proposes 'Balkan Helsinki'

AU1403165590 Sofia BTA in English 1349 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The desire of Bulgarians and Greeks to live in peace, friendship and understanding is in the base of the common position of all political forces in the two countries for dynmic development of Bulgaro-Greek relations, an important stabilizing factor in the Balkans.

This was said at a press conference by Mr Grigorios Farakos, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) after his meetings with leading officials of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS). During his visit to this country Mr Grigorios Farakos was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, the State Council President and by Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Bulgaro-Greek relations are looking at the future. This is not only a conviction of the Communist Party of Greece, but also of all political forces in Greece. We have found with satisfaction that the major political forces in Bulgaria have also declared themselves for the further dynamic development of bilateral relations, Mr Grigorios Farakos said. The Greek politician expressed conviction that Bulgaro-Grecian relations will continue to play significant influence for strengthening of security in the region "in these times of dynamic changes".

Mr Grigorios Farakos characterised as futureless the attempts of certain circles to exacerbate from mercenary motives some real or non-existing problems related to the minorities in the region and recalled the viewpoint of the Balkans states foreign ministers meeting, that the minorities should become "bridges of friendship" and not a disuniting factor.

Dwelling on the Greek Communists initiative for simultaneous leaving of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty by the Balkan states which are members of these organizations, Mr Grigorios Farakos expressed the opinion that a "Balkan Helsinki" would contribute to the realization of these initiatives and to the establishment of a system for collective security in the Balkans. He expressed satisfaction with Sofia's agreement in principle with this idea, which should be discussed in depth, according to Mr Farakos.

The Secretary General of the CC of the Communist Party of Greece noted the great interest of the Greek public to changes in Bulgaria and the other Eastern European countries and wished success to the democratic reforms in Bulgaria, launched after the initiative of the bcp.

In reply to the question about the strategy of the KKE and the coalition of the left and progressive forces for the forthcoming elections in Greece, Mr Grigorios Farakos expressed conviction that the exacerbated problems in the country can be solved only by a coalition government, united by a common programme for democratic and progressive changes. He expressed opinion that the problems are caused, to a great extent by the management of the single-party cabinets in the past. The KKE will strive for a coalition government on a wide basis, as the Greek people requires. According to Farakos, the prognoses for a drop of the coalition influence are groundless and it will establish its role of a central stabilizing factor in the political life.

We came to the conclusion that it will be irresponsible to remain in the opposition and merely to criticise, Mr Grigorios Farakos said.

Lukanov Speaks at Roundtable

AU1503144290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1232 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Statement by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov at national roundtable session held in Sofia—live]

[Text] Thank you for the floor, Comrade Lilov. I would like to point out immediately that the government highly appreciates the opportunity of reviewing the package of documents submitted to you at the roundtable before their final discussion at the National Assembly.

I think that the decision adopted by the parliament at our request that the discussion on the anticrisis program and on other documents should be postponed is in order to provide opportunities for extensive consultations with all major social-political forces in our country. These consultations and our roundtable debates urgently require essential changes in the documents. I must say that these documents really represent a preliminary document and our own views on them were subject to substantial changes from the time they were submitted for review up to the present moment. This was a result of intensified analysis and a result of consultations within the country which proceeded with the participation of highly qualified experts who expressed different points of view, but also as a result of our active consultations with international specialists. As a matter of fact, I would like to point out that these consultations with foreign experts not only play an important role in the context of thought imports, if I am permitted to say so, but they also play another role because we are vitally interested in our reforms being correctly understood and evaluated by our partners abroad. From this point of view, such consultations are important.

Setting aside certain political qualifications and superfluous rhethorics, I personally think that both the bilateral consultations that the government conducted and the consultations at the roundtable session today show that the differences in the views are not too considerable.

They are not likely to represent an essential obstacle to achievement of consensus on basic principles and approaches to the reform and the anti-crisis program. I fully agree with Comrade Stefan Stoilov when I say that today we have heard many valuable and sensible ideas that we will try to take into consideration.

For this reason I am grateful for the constructive criticism, for the interesting proposals and, if I could express a wish, it would be limited to the requirement for more specific proposals and for a more specific choice of alternative solutions.

The government was represented by a number of its members at this roundtable session today, not for the purpose of conducting polemics, but in an effort to try to help and to try to achieve a consensus on the questions discussed. Our presence at this session is not prompted by any intention to shift part of the responsibility or share it with someone else, but because the government is convinced that we are expecting a fundamental and very decisive change, which can be accomplished only with the participation of all those interested parties. In this case all interested parties means the entire people.

Nevertheless, I would like to make an objection to certain expressions. This applies, in particular, to the definition "national disaster" in referring to the present state of our national economy and its problems. This may be an appropriate term for election campaign polemics, but not when we are dealing with a sober and objective economic analysis as a basis for practical action. The question is not only about preventing us from self-humiliation as a nation by rejecting everything we have created and achieved within the last 40 years. In my opinion, this question has a practical connotation. I see two dangers in this approach:

The first danger is that we might instill a feeling of hopelessness in the people, that we may paralyze our own ability to mobilize and to make a real effort to cope with the problems we are facing and that are awaiting a solution. If we look at the states that are considered models of economic success in recent years we can see that they always started from the foundations of the past on which they could rely in the new stage of their development. On this subject I totally agree with Professor Petkov who pointed out that, in spite of all difficulties we are facing, in spite of the profound disproportions and outrages that were committed, we have something to rely upon. We have production potential, we have qualified people, we have competent specialists, we have resources that could be used considerably better than they are used today, and all this, naturally, did not fall from clear skies.

Considering all this, and without trying to instill unjustified optimism in this audience, I am personally convinced that Bulgaria has sufficient resources to rely on to enable it to restore its economy.

The second danger is connected with the need for assistance from abroad, foreign capital investments, and for possible postponement of repayment of our debts, which was frequently mentioned at this session. We should beware of such pessimistic evaluations that would affect the confidence in Bulgaria as an economic partner and the wish to support our country in its efforts for many years ahead.

I would also like to touch upon the question of the speed and stages of the necessary changes, and mention the discussion about the alternatives of shock therapy and gradual transition. I would also like to stress what Stefan Stoilov just said, that the government is not in favor of a slow transition to the market economy. It is in favor of resolute and radical measures unhindered by unjustified delays.

Nevertheless, in dealing with the choice of the pace and stages of economic reform, when we talk about shock therapy we should be clearly aware of what we are talking about. It is not only a question of phrasing and terminology, and I would like to cite an example in this connection:

Are we talking about an immediate liberalization of prices over the whole range of pricing, or not? The government proposes a two-stage approach. It proposes a 45-percent or even 50-percent liberalization for 1990, but not a 100-percent, immediate transition to free market pricing, because this would practically mean an immediate liberalization of prices for all basic necessities such as basic foodstuffs, medicines, housing, and so forth.

We should specifically discuss with all participants whether this is really possible today, and whether it is absolutely required from the point of view of the transition to a market economy.

Or, let us examine another example: Shock therapy requires an immediate withdrawal of subsidies from all major enterprises. Naturally, it also presupposes an essential increase in the unemployment rate, which would be difficult to control. Are we ready for this step at the present stage, from all points of view? Namely, from a psychological, political, social, and economic point of view? Are we ready to bear the consequences of closing down those enterprises, which in spite of their losses are producing urgently needed goods that are of great value for the national economy, goods that we cannot replace by imports from abroad, for perfectly understandable reasons that we all realize.

These are practical questions that we should examine very thoroughly before we choose between shock therapy and an accelerated, but nonetheless, gradual and sensible transition to a market economy.

The same applies to the requirement for the immediate introduction of free circulation of the foreign exchange lev. This approach has numerous positive aspects. Personally, I consider this the correct approach. Nevertheless, the question once more arises about the extent of inflation, about the limit of tolerance of it, the question of satisfying the needs of those enteprises that cannot adjust to the new situation within one month, or two, and that are satisfying the people's basic and urgent needs.

Another question that arises in the same context is related to the transitional mechanism of our payments and to our trade-economic cooperation with CEMA member countries. Comrade (?Tishev) has already dealt with the subject at this session. Are we ready to do so, are we ready substantially to eliminate this mechanism through an immediate transition to market principles, before the joint CEMA decisions have been applied, which is expected to take place as of the beginning of 1991? We should take into consideration the fact that this almost certainly means serious disruption of our economy's raw material supply. I would be glad if someone could contradict me on this point, but I repeat that these are materials for which we have no alternative sources of supply whatsoever, or almost no such sources of supply.

These are only a few problems that we should resolve before we decide on the question of whether we should apply shock therapy or give preference to an accelerated and decisive, but gradual transition.

I propose that in our further discussions we no longer deal with terminology, but discuss in a specific and realistic manner the schedule of the transition, the pace of transition, the stages of the transition, and the emerging problems.

We do not have any dogmatic attachment to either of the two alternative solutions, and we believe that the question should be resolved by taking into consideration the strategic goals of the reform, and by simultaneously adopting a realistic attitude, having in mind the importance of public reaction, having in mind the fact that this solution should meet with the understanding and support of the people, because without broad political, and not only social support, and without the people's active participation in the reforms stemming from this support, we cannot rely on success in implementing the reforms.

Let me say a few words about the foreign debt. I do not object to and I accept the proposal made by Ventsislav Dimitrov on engaging in an analysis, or even in a genesis, if I may use this expresion, related to the foreign debt. I would just like to point out that until the end of 1984, Bulgaria's situation regarding foreign debts was brilliant, and this foreign debt the we are facing today as a basic problem of the economy was accumulated over the last 5 years. But let us analyze, together with all interested parties who are willing to do so, how we came into this situation, and let us inform the people; I fully agree on this point, that absolute glasnost should exist on such questions.

Nevertheless, regardless of the conclusions we may draw on the reasons for this rapid, stormy increase in our foreign debt, we should consider that it is one of our present-day realities, and we will not be able to avoid coping with this problem.

Contrary to some opinions expressed at this session, this problem cannot be entirely postponed. Naturally, various technical solutions exist related to the foreign debt, including restructuring, refinancing, postponement, and so forth, but we should keep in mind that in such cases our partners and creditors are not ready to accept an unconditional postponement, because they apply resolute, and I would even say, definitely strict conditions that affect the domestic economic life and policy of the respective state. Therefore, we should, under all circumstances, realize that one of the conditions imposed is to provide evidence for our tendency of self-restriction.

This affects a considerable self-restriction in consumption, a restriction of our budget deficits, restriction of our investment resources, activities, and so forth. From this point of view, we cannot separate our domestic economic aspects from the foreign economic aspects related to our current situation. If we should try to isolate ourselves from the foreign debt problem and close our eyes, this would mean that we are doing nothing but remain in self-isolation.

In this case, we are not only striving for consolidation and balancing our economy, but we should be all means strive for an immediate and accelerated integration with worldwide economy.

Only under such conditions can we adopt an economy that can be called market economy, and that should be able to compete, not only from the point of view of its production and quality, but also from the point of view of the quality of life that the economy is capable of providing for the Bulgarian citizen. Considering all this, the two aforementioned problems, namely foreign debt and foreign economic cooperation, and, in addition to this, the domestic economic problems are extremely closely and organically intertwined and should be simultaneously resolved. I agree that we should once more examine the classification of priorities, so as to see whether the question of foreign debts should prevail to such extent over everything else, but we would delude ourselves if we underestimate this problem.

Comrade Stoilov said, and I would like to confirm his statement, that we assessed the urgent requirement of considerably accelerating the preparations for certain laws. In saying this, I also respond to numerous remarks and statements made at this session. We think that without adopting such laws we cannot prepare the ground for a radical reform based on market economy principles.

In this context, we should include the law on land and the law on private property that were mentioned, and also a new law on taxation of physical and legal persons. It also includes a law on [word indistinct], a law on creating conditions for developing competition in economy, and some other legislative solutions. We would be very grateful for all cooperation in this respect. I propose that the laws should be simultaneously submitted to the roundtable and to the National Assembly, but according to our common understanding, on the basis of the roundtable statute we adopted, it is evident that the discussion of these questions by a special roundtable working group would be a prerequisite for their accelerated adoption by the National Assembly.

Naturally, this is only a stage in the legislative program. The major part of the work on the reform and on the legislative program should be concluded by the new National Assembly, of course. As a matter of fact, we, as the government, estimated that it would be more correct that we not expand our efforts too much, that we not try to grasp the whole of the issues involved in the reform, that we restrict ourselves at this stage to a basic scheme of reform, which we will certainly further develop and complement in the light of discussions and to short-term measures.

We fully realize that the major part of the work ahead of us should be accomplished by the new National Assembly and by the new government it is expected to appoint.

I fully accept the remarks on the state of information about the country's socioeconomic development. I must say that it is the government's policy to advance toward releasing information; toward drastically expanding its accessibility not only for experts, but also for the whole public; and for openness of information, for a higher quality information, which should apply to administrative, scientific, and all other kinds of requirements. The most correct solution in this respect would be not to invent our own system of information, but to adopt the systems that on a unified basis are applied in highly developed states. This would also be an element of rapprochement between our country's system of management and administration with the systems existing in those countries.

In closing my statement, I would like to mention Dr. Trenchev's remarks. We all welcome the opinion that enterprises should not be a scene of political struggles, and I would like to point out that the aforementioned case, that specific labor conflict, should not be turned into a political issue, especially since that particular labor conflict is the subject of discussions in a specially appointed commission that is expected to adopt conclusions on one of the problems in question today. I would like, however, to tell Dr. Trenchev that as chairman of the government I do not agree with the methods used in connection with signing the protocol in question. I think that even prior to the adoption of the new law, labor conflicts should not be resolved on the basis of such an improvised basis, not to say something worse. You can accept this as self-criticism since you are right in saying that, to some extent, the government was party in this case, but I think that in the future we should resolve such problems in only one manner, namely through real negotiations, on the basis of a genuine analysis of the arguments on both sides, and I sincerely hope that the participants in the negotiations that are now proceeding with the participation of the Podkrepa trade union and also of the other trade unions, and with the participation of the employer, namely, the economic management, and the competent state organ, will reach sensible and constructive solutions, likely to be analogically applied all over the country on a just basis, wherever all preconditions exist and wherever specific agreement has been reached between workers and economic managers.

I would also like to take advantage of this opportunity to mention the problem of strikes. I think that one of the real dangers threatening the success of our reform would be the expansion of strike conflicts. I hope I am not mistaken, but I find that a certain alleviation of tension has recently emerged in this respect. If, with the assistance of the roundtable, we could agree on a moratorium, or on any other form of halting strikes for a certain period of time, this would be one of the greatest successes, a great act of nationwide wisdom, likely to facilitate a relatively painless transition of our economy to market conditions.

At the very end of my statement I would like to express my gratitude to the comrades co-chairmen for the invitation to participate in the session, and once more declare the readiness of the government to include all sensible ideas in the future documents and to cooperate in a professional and practical manner with you, so that we may achieve optimal and coordinated solutions, always mindful of the interests of the common people, who will decide upon the outcome of the great efforts expected in Bulgaria. Thank you.

Lukanov Discusses Government Tasks

AU2102105690 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 17 Feb 90 p 5

[Report on news conference given by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by Valentin Panayotov and Plamen Starev; in Sofia on 16 February: "A Government of Sole Responsibility"]

[Text] We entered the hall with some embarrassment because the last time we were here a polite young man mildly reprimanded one of us for having forgotten to put on a jacket. On the present occasion, we noticed with relief that most of those present did not wear jackets and no one was wearing formal dress, despite the fact that we were attending a news conference of the Council of Ministers chairman.

The new government leader had invited Bulgarian and foreign journalists for a news conference. However, Andrey Lukanov insisted that this should be called an informal meeting, and not an official news conference, because he preferred a dialogue format rather than the usual journalists' game of questions and answers. The meeting began with Andrey Lukanov's introductory statement, which described the practical implementation of the government declaration made at the last National Assembly Session as the main current task of his cabinet. He summed up the work accomplished to date by the new cabinet. The first question on the government's agenda was related to agriculture. This actually means that priority measures in the socioeconomic policy area are related to this subject. The essential point of this group of measures adopted by the government is that individual and private initiative in the agricultural sector are to be widely expanded. A decision was adopted to establish a specialized bank for individual farmers and land leasers. The bank is expected to represent an alternative and competitor for the existing agricultural organizations, with a broad range of activities. The bank will grant credits at a very advantageous interest, namely 2.5 percent.

According to Andrey Lukanov, dialogue and negotiations instead of pressure should be the basic methods of resolving situations of conflict and resolving controversial issues. The first steps of the government confirm this.

In answering questions about the government's program, Andrey Lukanov stated that he sent a letter to the director general of the International Monetary Fund and to the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, applying for Bulgaria's membership in these institutions. The government is expected to prepare its socioeconomic program and 1990 budget, and also an anticrisis program to be submitted at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

Andrey Lukanov gave a general brief to the journalists on the question of the appointment of personnel to government offices. The large ministries shall employ a staff of no more than 400-500 people. This means a reduction of approximately 25 percent. Social justice requires that these people should not remain without employment. This question is also awaiting a solution from the government.

According to a foreign journalist, the Union of Democratic Forces is allegedly expecting financial assistance for its election campaign from abroad. Andrey Lukanov expressed the opinion that Bulgarian political parties should be financed only from domestic sources and there is no reason why the state should not assist the political parties in their election campaigns. The government leader was asked about the possibilities of establishing a coalition government. He stated that the Communist Party has assumed a difficult, and sole responsibility. This makes the forthcoming elections even more urgent. There is no change on the question of a coalition government, although our hand is still outstretched, Lukanov said, and added that "he would not even hesitate to offer his resignation." According to the journalists, the question on the property declarations of government members is quite interesting, and they seem somewhat delayed. The Council of Ministers chairman answered that some time is required for working out a investigation mechanism. He is currently working on his own statement and hopes to submit it by the beginning of next week. "The statement, however, does not confirm the news that I am a millionaire, which I found quite interesting," Andrey Lukanov added.

Roundtable Discusses Market Reform

AU1503185090 Sofia BTA in English
1726 GMT 15 Mar 90

["The Government and the Opposition Stand For Market Economy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—Both the Government and the opposition would like a reform that will bring to a market economy. There are different opinions as regards the rates of the transition to a market economy. Andrey Lukanov's Government proposes a prompt but gradual transition, while the opposition is inclined to use the "shock" therapy. This became clear from today's roundtable meeting.

It was decided to set up a group of experts on economy and law, which should prepare the roundtable agreement and participate in the work of the parliamentary commission, engaged in socioeconomic issues. The agreement will be considered at one of the next common meetings of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] and SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] delegations.

The Government presented to the roundtable participants the documents on the economic reform and the urgent measures for coming out of the crisis. After receiving the roundtable approval, they will be introduces in Parliament. As Stefan Stoilov, the minister without portfolio on issues of the economic reform stressed, they plan a variety and equality of the forms of property. The reform is directed at the country's integration in the European economic structures. Among the concrete measures this year is the free formation of 40 per cent of the prices.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, stressed the cabinet's wish for large-scale consultations on the reform, which needs a preliminary national consensus. He expressed the opinion that the differences which showed up in the discussion are not particularly significant he also stressed that the government wants acceleration of the transition to market economy, for decisive and radical measures, but insists that the transition takes place in stages. Mr Andrey Lukanov accepted the demand of the opposition for a more detailed analysis to be made of the country's large foreign debt and accepted the view about the need that the law reforms will accompany the economic ones, as well as the insistence for more information about the state of the economy.

The SDS economic experts, as well as the leader of the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions Krustyu Petkov criticized the inconsistency of the programs proposed by the Government.

The SDS stands for constitutional protection of private ownership, the acknowledgement of the commodity character of the workforce, privatization, radical agrarian reform, doing away of the apparatus economic power, new taxation policy and new legal base of the economic activity. The opposition made a proposal for quick decisions which would bring to production burst up, as well as to strengthening of finances. It thinks that the foreign debt should be spaced out. Representative of the Social-Democratic Party insisted that the solution of Bulgaria's economic problems is impossible without international help. [sentence as received] He thought necessary the immediate provision of conditions for drawing of foreign capital.

Some of the SDS demands coincide with the statements made by representatives of public organizations and the delegation of the ruling parties.

Zhelyu Zhelev, the SDS chairman backed again the stance that the economic issues cannot be solved without the resolution of the political ones before that. According to him, there should be a change of the whole economic system. What the BCP had built during the past four decades was an anti-economy and has brought the country to its present state, he said. Z. Zhelev accused the Government that it had not acknowledged the complete fail of the economic system. Thus, the issue about the historic guilt and the Communist Party responsibility is evaded.

The next national roundtable meeting will be on Monday, March 19. Discussion will focus on the date of elections and the National Assembly term of office, on the bills for amendments of the constitution and on the political parties.

List of Roundtable Agreements' Signatories

AU1503124490 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 13 Mar 90 p 3

[List of party leaders and representatives of participating sides who signed the documents of the roundtable session held in Sofia on 12 March]

[Text] The following three documents were signed at the 12 March National Roundtable Session:

1. "Declaration on the Role and Status of the National Roundtable."
2. "National Agreement on Guaranteeing the Peaceful Development of the Transition Toward a Democratic Political System," and
3. "Agreement on the Political System."

The documents were signed by National Roundtable co-Chairmen Aleksandur Lilov (for the Bulgarian Communist Party) [BCP] and Zhelyu Zhelev (for the Union of Democratic Forces) [UDF], and by the following delegation leaders participating in the National Roundtable:

Aleksandur Karakachanov—for the Green Party;
Blagovest Sendov—National Assembly deputy;
Boris Kyurkchiev—for the Democratic Party;
Branko Davidov—for the "Rodolyubie" Rhodope Union;

Viktor Vulkov—for the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS];
Ginyo Ganev—for the Fatherland Front;
Dimitur Batalov— for the Club of People Repressed Since 1945;
Dimitur Arnaudov—for the All-People's Committee For the Defense of National Interests;
Elka Konstantinova—for the Radical Democratic Party;
Emil Koshlukov—for the Federation of Independent Students Associations;
Ivan Velinov—for the Union of Lawyers in Bulgaria;
Konstantin Tellalov—for the Human Rights Committee;
Konstantin Trenchev—for the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation;
Krustyu Petkov—for the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria;
Lyuben Kulishev—National Assembly deputy;
Lyubomir Sobadzhiev—for the Civic Initiative Movement;
Milan Drenchev—for the Nikola Petkov BZNS;
Mikhayl Ivanov—for the National Reconciliation Committee;
Nora Ananieva—for the Democratic Women's Union;
Petur Beron—for the Ecoglasnost Independent Association;
Petko Simeonov—for the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs;
Petur Dertliev—for the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party;
Rosen Karadimov—for the Bulgarian Democratic Youth;
Rumen Vodenicharov—for the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights;
Tani Tanev—for the Union of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism;
Khristofor Subev, ordained monk—for the Committee For Defense of Religious Rights Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values.

New Oil Field Found in Northern Bulgaria

AU1603092890 Sofia BTA in English
0817 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—Near the village of Bokhot, Pleven District oil gushed from a depth of 4,260 m. This is the latest oil field in the country. The drilling is ready for testing of the individual oil horizons. The output is average compared to the ones which have been so far used in this country. The oil is of high quality.

Experts and workers from the local geological prospecting enterprise are concerned over the reduced investments for their activity and think the exploitation of this oil field might be postponed for years. The same holds true for the gas field next to the nearby village of Uglen, which, according to the experts words can give one million cubic meters of gas as early as next year.

Government, Trade Unions Sign Agreement

AU1503153090 Sofia BTA in English
1426 GMT 15 Mar 90

["General Agreement of Trade Unions With Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions and Mr Stoyan Drundarov, chairman of the National Union of Economic Leaders, signed today a general agreement for solving in 1990 the most pending issues which concern the working people vital interests and cause social tensions.

The government, the Confederation and Union of Leaders consider this agreement as the beginning of new relations in the formation and realization of economic and social policy, as a possibility for social orientation and economic development for the provision of labor occupation and democratization of labor relations, for guaranteeing of social security and justice in the outcome from the crisis and the transition to a market economy.

The agreements between the three sides are for guaranteeing the practice of the freely elected profession and labor occupation, for working salary, for standard of living and social insurance, for social development of the working teams, for conditions and grade of labor, for reposal and resort treatment, for democratization of the management of economic activity. Trade union, economic and other formations which are not members of the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and of the National Union of the Economic Leaders can join the general agreement.

According to Andrey Lukanov, this agreement sets the beginning of a new phenomenon in the economic life of the country: the tripartite agreement of the most important issues through agreements and consultations between representatives of the state power, trade unions and employers.

'Sredets' Merchant Bank Founded in Sofia

AU2402211690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Report by Ivan Ivanov: "First of the New Merchant Banks"]

[Text] The "Sredets" Merchant Bank is a joint stock company with an initial capital fund [ustaven fond] of 12 million leva, with the Bulgarian National Bank as a principal shareholder. This, in a nutshell, is how one may describe the "first swallow" of the summer of bank restructuring in Bulgaria, decisions on which were made last year. The "Sredets" Joint Stock Company was founded by a general meeting of shareholders held in the Park Hotel Moscow in Sofia. The meeting elected an eight-member administrative council, with Stefan Chipilski, a Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank director, as its chairman, as well as a three-member control council. Previous acting Manager Agnesa Ilieva was elected chairman of the executive committee.

The shareholders pointed out that this marks the start of implementing an interesting and necessary economic activity. It is also planned to provide services for citizens' companies, to participate in a joint modern enterprise, and to set up a design office. However, the administrative formation of the new merchant banks leaves a certain impression in this initial period.

Advertizing Magazine Issue Planned

AU2302164990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] The paper for the first issue of an advertizing journal called CHANCE, which is expected to appear in a circulation of 30,000 copies, was obtained through a barter deal with a USSR enterprise. The name of the enterprise and the conditions under which it is working should remain the commercial secret of the Chance advertizing company, which belongs to a collective of private citizens.

Board of Directors Chairman Gocho Gochev claims that the members of the board started with a capital amounting to 2,000 leva from private savings. The members expect profits from every issue and from advertisements published in the magzine. Twice a month the journal will provide its readers with economic, business, everyday, and other publicity.

FRG President, Foreign Minister Visit Prague

Genscher Arrives 14 Mar

LD1403220290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] FRG Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has arrived in Czechoslovakia for a short visit. In Prague he will be accompanying Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker, who will arrive in our capital tomorrow.

Von Weizsaecker Arrives

LD1503102990 Prague CTK in English 0931 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—West German President Richard Von Weizsaecker arrived here today for a one-day official visit to Czechoslovakia.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel at whose invitation the visit takes place.

Dual Talks Begin

LD1503123590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] The presidents of Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany, Vaclav Havel and Richard von Weizsaecker, met for their first talks in Prague Castle this morning. Talks between the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries, Jiri Dienstbier and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, opened at the same time. A gala program in Vladislav Hall of Prague Castle, with speeches by both presidents, is expected this afternoon.

Havel Speech Remembers 1939

LD1503155490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel following meeting with FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker at Vladislav Hall in Prague Castle—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends: Our first attempt to create a democratic state was ended by a certain madman in boots who on 15 March 1939 broke into this castle to tell the world that violence won over freedom and human dignity. A messenger of war broke in here, a messenger of crudity, a messenger of lies, a messenger of pride and evil, lawlessness and cruelty. A mass murderer broke in here, a murderer of nations. Who let this man in? Who allowed him to desecrate these ancient halls? Above all, some of his fellow citizens who succumbed to his primitive appeal to their more treacherous emotions, archetypal visions, and national or social desires. Further, it was the infinite shortsightedness of the governments of France and Britain of the time, who thought that they would save peace by opening the door to this messenger of war. Lastly, it was a fear of our own state leadership to defy superior forces and to risk great lack of understanding and great sacrifices—fear tinged perhaps by a suspected share of responsibility for our state's disparaging attitude at that time to the rights of the minority nationalities, which had undoubtedly influenced so many citizens of German nationality to join that madman against their own state. Although his war against the civilized world did not open until 2 September, it was actually declared on 15 March here, at the Prague Castle.

Today, when we are beginning our second attempt at democracy and we recall what happened 51 years ago, we welcome a different guest to this castle: a messenger of decency, a messenger of truth, a messenger of humanity, a bearer of the news that violence should never win over freedom and evil over human life. A man who said that nothing should be forgotten, among other things, because memory is a source of faith in salvation. [applause]

An uninvited enemy invaded this place 50 years ago. A friend is here today at our invitation. The former visit brought death to our pre-war democracy; today's visit hails our new democracy. The former visit represented the beginning of our modern misfortune; today's visit coincides with its end. Our guest at that time opened our path towards subjugation; today's guest congratulates us on our newly gained freedom.

I think that we are witnessing an important day. It is important in several respects. First and foremost, it could mark the beginning of a new act in the thousand-year-old Czech-German drama, where motives of tension, discord, and struggle and motives of fruitful coexistence and profound mutual influence were continually and inseparably intertwined. In this new act, after the bitter experiences of the new era, the second group of motives could at long last become dominant over the first group. The point is that the time is ripe to at long last shake hands with a friendly smile and with the certainty that we no longer have to fear one another, because we are allied by a joint and dearly bought respect for human life, human rights, civic freedoms, and universal peace. [applause]

This joint way out opens up great horizons for potential cooperation. We are able to jointly aim our efforts at a democratic Europe, at a Europe as a unity in heterogeneity, at a Europe that does not provide the world with wars, but one that radiates beams of tolerance on it, at a Europe that follows its best cultural traditions, at a Europe that no one will pollute any more with poisonous smoke and water.

We agree that the basic prerequisite for true friendship between our peoples is truth, that, despite its harshness is, nevertheless, always voiced. Our guest pronounced on behalf of his peoples enough harsh truths about the suffering inflicted by many Germans—or, to be more precise, many predecessors of present-day Germans—on the world as a whole and on us in particular. Have we succeeded in saying on behalf of our side all that we should say? I am not sure.

Six years of Nazi raving was enough, for example, for us to be infected by the virus of evil, to report on each other during the war and after it, to adopt as our own, in just and also in excessive bitterness, the immoral principle of a collective guilt. Instead of judging all those who have betrayed their state, we have expelled them from the country and thus punished them by a punishment unknown in our legal code. It was not punishment, but revenge. Furthermore, we have not expelled them on the basis of proven individual guilt, but simply as members of a certain nation. Thus, in the belief that we were carrying out historic justice, we hurt many innocent people, above all women and children. And as the case often is in history, we not only hurt them, but ourselves even more. We settled accounts with the totalitarian system in such a way that we let its infectious features into our own actions and thus into own souls, and this returned to us shortly afterward in the form of our inability to resist a new and imported totalitarian system, which many of us had been actively helping to create. And that decision was also unfortunate for us in another way— we had suddenly devastated an extensive piece of our country—we have let the weeds of devastation into our entire homeland. The sacrifices that we must endure to put things right will therefore be, among other things, also the levy for the mistakes and sins of our fathers.

History cannot be turned back, and thus beside a free study of the truth we can do only one thing—to welcome again in a friendly manner those who come with peace in their soul to pay respects to the graves of their predecessors or to have a look at what remains of the villages in which they were born.

The relations of Germany toward the family of European nations and the relations of this family toward Germany also must take into account its size, strength, and central position—traditionally the most important element of European stability. This is also true today. All of Europe must be grateful to the Germans that they have started demolishing the wall that divides them, because by this they have also started demolishing the wall that divides Europe. Despite this, many Europeans fear a unified Germany. I think that this gives Germans a great historical opportunity. It is, above all, up to them to rid Europeans of this fear. If they, for example, manage to confirm the definite validity of all existing frontiers, including those with Poland, or if they manage to deal finally with all those who have the cheek to flirt with Nazi ideology, then by this they will do a lot to prevent Europe from fearing them and preventing their early unification. It is also up to the Germans whether their unification will become a welcome drive for pan-European unification or, on the countrary, its braking force. They should implement their well-known love for order in their own interest in this process, too. Its possible hasty or chaotic nature, especially if it is a mere product of election campaign speculations, will not contribute to Germany's credibility. But if, on the contrary, all proceeds in a sensible manner, then we will soon see the day for which all Europe has been keenly waiting for a long time: the day when we ceremoniously close the book on the Second World War and all its grim consequences, including the fact that Europe has been divided into two halves and that it has become two enormous pyramids of weapons. If all proceeds in a sensible manner and in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, then this ending can perhaps be achieved next year. It will definitely be a better ending than the Versailles one was in its time. At long last, Europe will be able to embark on the path toward its old dream—to be a friendly union of free peoples and democratic states based on public respect for all human rights.

The 45 years that have elapsed since the end of the war represent a sufficient gap for us to be able to conclude a truly wise agreement no longer influenced by anger, irrespective of how understandable it may be. It is evident that the fate of all of us depends today once again upon German development. Considering this situation, is it surprising that the just-born democratic Czechoslovakia is so interested in the events in both German states? Is it surprising that I visited both German states immediately, the third day after being elected president? Is it surprising that we are so pleased to welcome at Prague Castle the guest who, in our view, embodies the best spiritual traditions of Germany? Is it surprising that we attach such a great importance to precisely this day when the peoples who did not trust one another for so long, are shaking hands?

I have spoken here about the historic tasks faced by Germany today. I must therefore mention also what must be done by us today. After everything that happened, a very great fear of Germans and greater Germany remains in us. People who experienced the war, who lost their neartest and dearest in it, who suffered in concentration camps, and who hid from the Gestapo are still alive. Their mistrust is understandable, and it is quite natural that it infects others. Our task, which is to overcome this fear, ensues from this. We must at long last come to grips with the fact that we were not tormented by the German people, but by particular persons.

Ill will, blind obedience, indifference to one's fellow beings—all these are features of people, not nations. Did we not know enough bad Czechs and Slovaks; were there not among us enough informers of the Gestapo and later the State Security [StB]? Was there not enough indifferences and egoism when for years and decades we let our country be devastated and when we were silent only because we did not want to lose our bonuses and our peace in front of the television screens? And at least recently, there was no threat of death for this, and often not even imprisonment. [applause] In the long run, was it not we who performed this destructive work?

At any rate, it was the Nazis who treacherously identified their cause with the German cause. We must not follow them. If we adopted their lie as ours, we would only continue carrying the baton of their destructive lies. Nations often resent people who speak a different language, particularly if it is the language spoken by the tyrant. However, language cannot help the tyrant who speaks it. To judge someone according to language, color of skin, origin or shape of nose, means to be a racist, whether consciously or unconsciously. Speaking slanderously about the Germans as such, just as about the Vietnamese or members of any other nation, to condemn them only because they are Germans or to fear them just because of this is the same as being anti-Semitic. [applause]

In other words, to adopt the idea of collective blame or collective responsibility means, consciously or unconsciously, to weaken the blame and individual responsibility. And that is very dangerous. Let us just remember how many of us recently tried to escape individual responsibility referring, allegedly, to the fact that we, the Czechs, are like this or like that, and that we cannot change. This kind of deliberation is an inconspicuous germ of moral nihilism.

Naturally, there are matters in which we, as Czechs and Slovaks, differ from others, as well as from one another. We have different hobbies, different tastes, different dreams, different memories, and different experiences. But we are good or bad not because we are Czechs or Slovaks or Germans or Vietnamese or Jews. To lay the blame of some Germans on the German people means to free them from their blame, and with pessimistic fatalism to submerge them in irresponsible anonymity and to deprive ourselves of any hope. It would be as if somebody said about us, as a nation, that we are Stalinists. Suffering tends toward justice, not injustice. He who has truly suffered is usually aware of it. [applause]

After all, the gift of forgiveness, and consequently of freedom from anger, can flourish only on the terrain of justice.

This day looks important to me for another reason as well. I do not know whether in the future multipolar world, united Germany will be called a superpower or not. In one sense, it has undoubtedly been a potential superpower for a long time: As one of the possible pillars of European spirituality that could, if it wished, help us all to resist the destructive pressures of technical civilization, with its stupifying dictatorship of consumerism and omnipresent commercialism, pressures that lead to that very alienation that was so often analyzed by German philosophers. If Germany definitely calls into existence and confirms its statehood, to which its systematic hierarchical spirit has been exerting itself traditionally and that has been engaging it in practical terms for such a long time in a practical sense, then it would be able to put its creative potential without inhibitions to the restoration of global human responsibility, this only possible salvation of modern life—that is, to a task for which the spirit of German ideological traditions is so well disposed.

If this day is another step toward understanding in the center of Europe, then it can be a step at the same time to awakening us all from the narcosis into which we are daily thrown by the unscrupulousness of ethical materialism, which quite naturally results in the feeling—after us, the deluge.

Esteemed friends, I see today's visit of Mr. President Richard von Weizsaecker in Prague as the true opposite of that old painful visit that we recall today. [applause]

While that visit was a sign of coming days and of deepening loss of hope, this visit is on the contrary a sign of great hope for us all: a hope for a world the center of which will be a unique human being who sets its searching eyes to heaven to draw from it that mysterious force that is the only thing that can bring a moral order into our souls. [applause]

That is the very thing which can today be the main guarantee of a meaningful human future. [applause]

Favors 'Good Neighborliness'

AU1503154390 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1355 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Statement by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker during his visit to Prague on 15 March, marking the 51st anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia—live]

[Text] Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, dear neighbors: Owing to your invitation, Mr. President, I am with you today at Prague Castle. I am overwhelmed by the ideas you just stated in connection with this invitation, and by the confidence that you, ladies and gentlemen, have shown to us, the Germans, by the welcome you have given us.

Many of my compatriots share my joy. On behalf of all of them, I convey to you the most cordial greetings and wishes from your neighbor country. [applause] I am happy and grateful that we now meet as free nations pursuing their way in their own democratic responsibility. That is the very reason why we can feel and reactivate our very old neighborhood. We can meet without any bitterness and distrust. We can become aware of our history and then recognize that in the light of all important future tasks, we depend on each other and bear responsibility for each other.

You have been our neighbors for more than a millennium—both geographically and in terms of fate. Our nations have always had the longest common border. Their religious and spiritual development, as well as the development of their civilizations, are closely and indissolubly entwined.

Mr. President, your people's history is as rich in dramatic changes as are our mutual relations. They comprise happy and sad chapters; however, on the whole, the positive part has been predominant.

It has been Vaclav Havel's magnanimous initiative to invite his neighbors from the FRG to visit Prague Castle on 15 March. Everybody in our country understands the deep symbolism of this peaceful step that we have jointly taken out of conviction. [applause]

Fifty-one years ago today, your country was militarily invaded by Germany. This invasion was to be celebrated as a victory here at Hradcany; however, it was the beginning of a six-year suppression and occupation, imposed by political blackmail and by force of arms. It represented the defeat of the law and political ethics. Germans seriously wronged your country and its people.

At the same time, 15 March 1939 was the decisive step leading to World War II. The world finally realized Hitler's unscrupulous determination to break his word and use force. By his next act of aggression in September of the same year, he dragged the European peoples into the maelstrom of the destructive war that caused unspeakable suffering.

The names of respectable villages and towns in your country and in our country, ranging from Lidice to Dachau, became memorials of brutality and contempt of humanity. There were also serious sacrifices among innumerable innocent Germans. It is only in deep sorrow and respect that we remember the victims and the bereaved. We owe it to them to keep them in remembrance, and we need them to remind us.

We do not want to misuse history for our defense, for accusations, or for settling accounts. History does not need to be used for such purposes, nor would it be helpful for us. To meet in peace and friendship, we need to be sincere with each other, and everyone needs to be sincere for himself with his own past. Everybody must begin improvement with himself, as your great philosopher Comenius said. Man is important. Guilt and innocence are never collective, but personal. However, we bear joint responsibility for what we make of the heritage of history at our present time. In the sense of Comenius, we want to look at history as it was and deal with its consequences as conscientiously as possible.

It is still necessary to eliminate deeply rooted mistrust, because deep wounds were caused to each other and the scars still hurt. However, in the spirit of good neighborliness, the strength of frankness is developing. The lie is a companion of violence. We want to heed this assertion by the first president of your republic, Thomas G. Masaryk. Hatred and hostility have been dissolving since we started trying seriously to live together in truth—life is growing from truth.

With his own life, your president is confirming the strength of this insight. He countered forcible repression with the both peaceful and irresistible truthfulness of his conviction. With the power of his frank words, he found the path to the heart of his fellow citizens. With his steadfast humaneness, he has won respect all over the world, first and foremost among the Germans.

We thank you, Mr. President, for your generous words about the past. We thank you for the sign of trust you gave us when, a few days after your election as the head of state, you made your first trip abroad to the German neighbor in Berlin and Munich. [applause]

With you we want to build a bridge of understanding, and I would also like to thank the spokesmen of the Sudeten Germans for their sincere and good words on this issue. It is encouraging to hear from both sides suggestions for a people's diplomacy—that is, the intention to make mutual invitations and trips, to achieve dialogue and understanding, and to have new, friendly links. We are convinced that this can lead to a fundamental change for the better, which will grow within the feelings of our peoples. [applause]

In this spirit, we are jointly tackling the European tasks of the present. Walls have fallen, fences are leveled, barbed wire is being cut through. The borders are open. We respect them without any reservations. We Germans have no claims whatsoever on the territory of any of our neighbors. [applause]

People may approach each other freely. As (?responsible) citizens, they themselves have enforced their human rights, their freedom, and their democracy—in the CSSR, in the GDR, in Hungary, and in Poland. The Soviet leadership has joined them with its new way of thinking. The candles in Wenceslas Square and in the streets of Prague were lighted for the same ideals and values as those carried by the citizens in Leipzig and Dresden during their demonstrations. [applause]

The newly won freedom and the trust of the peoples of Europe are paving the way for us Germans to overcome the division of our people. This trust is a precious asset, which we are called upon to cultivate and preserve. We are grateful to our neighbors for their support for the right to self-determination and we appreciate the fact that you, Mr. President, expressed this clearly in Prague and in Warsaw, as well as in Washington and in Moscow. [applause]

On the path toward unity, we Germans are profoundly aware of our special responsibility for peace in Europe. Who should not understand it in view of the course of European history, the location of our people in the center of the continent, and thus also our own experiences and interests? We Germans have more neighbors than any other European people. Our location has brought about a historical development, which has always been characterized by interdependent influences and interference between our neighbors and us. Our history has never been our very own property.

Today, too, and more than ever, we do not pursue any isolated national policy for us. The epoch in which good patriotism turned into evil nationalism against the neighbors and, consequently, led to destructive European fratricidal strife, is behind us. As Germans and French have overcome it together, this is also to happen between you and us. Our citizens, in particular our young people, want this and are able to achieve this. [applause]

The process of our national unification must stand the test as a component and powerful motor of European unificiation. That is to say, it will be embedded in the prospects of the EC, in the CSCE, and in the development of a stable and really collective new security system for our region.

Not a single one of the great tasks of our time can be solved within a narrow national framework. Only by daily practical cooperation, which, as I am delighted to hear, by the way, is lively in the Czechoslovak-Bavarian border region, and, above all, by supranational European communities and institutions will we be able to cope with nature protection, energy supply, an integrated transportation system, the economic, technological, and social development of our society and, at the same, to bear the great joint European responsibility for the global problems of our time, including overpopulation and underdevelopment, hunger and the refugees' misery, the exploitation of the natural resources, and the development of the world climate. Only together will we be able to decently shape the intellectual, moral, and social challenges of the world's technical civilization. [applause]

Let me add that we Germans know very well how important it is not to cause our neighbors old or new concerns by our unification. We want and will take their feelings about our development very seriously. Not only do we want to come to an agreement on our steps by close contacts with their governments, but we also want to explain them to their peoples. We want to convice the people with our actions and words that German unity is not only democratically legitimate, but that it will finally also promote the peaceful spirit in Europe. [applause]

Europe belongs to all of us. Prague is in its center. I do not only talk about its geographic position, but also of the fact that the people here have always been directly linked with the topics that have formed Europe's fate. This great European center has always shaped culture and civilization on our continent. The Czech translation of the Bible came 100 years before the German one. With your religious-social movements, you have developed a special form of tolerance and mutual respect between different confessions and classes. In this way, you have given a valuable example of European coexistence. Europe has had every reason to learn more from you before. [applause]

However, fortunately it is not too late. Today Prague can again become a meeting place for the European nations, promoting their peace and strengthening their vitality. It is destined for this because of the vitality and capability of its Czechoslovak people, its intellectual position, and the moral credibility of its policy today. Just like we, together with our West European partners, are trying to pave new European ways by cooperation and federative structures, you can be entrusted with a task in the center of Europe and thus, at the same time, in the whole of a common European home. [applause]

Mr. President, your alert conscience is the expression of the best traditions of your people. You are proceeding on your path without assuming poses, in a peaceful, persistent, and democratic manner. You have gained new self-respect and new self-confidence, thus creating the basis for confidence and respect for others by your people and by others for you. You have initiated a change in our hearts. I take the hand that you are offering with emotion and gratitude. [applause]

We can again say what we think because we are abandoning the spirit of distrust, fear, and self-consciousness. We can find support in our joint history. Instead of delimiting ourselves from each other, we can combine our talents for mutual promotion. We used to be brothers and sisters in the past, and we want to restore this relationship in the future. Let us make good use of the chance that history is offering us today. Our peoples and our common Europe will benefit from this. [applause]

Talks 'Open, Friendly'

LD1503202890 Prague CTK in English 1808 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky told CTK here today that talks between Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher had been open, friendly and informal.

He said that Minister Dienstbier recalled the opening of cultural and information centres and planned opening of seven new border crossings this summer, establishment of a Czechoslovak society of care for graves of German soldiers buried on Czechoslovak territory etc. He asked Minister Genscher to support Czechoslovakia's application for the Prague-based Bank for Development of the East European States.

Concerning this issue the West German foreign minister said the FRG had not yet taken a final decision. He spoke in detail about unification of Germany. He said that German politicians consider this process a part of the all-European unification process. They want to unify the FRG and the GDR and both parts of Berlin. They have no other requests. They do not put forward any territorial demands and give guarantees for permanent borders with Poland, Minister Genscher stated, adding that in his opinion, a conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be of decisive significance for a European set-up, mainly an agreement on external aspects of unification of Germany. He stressed that a summit dealing with Europe should take place.

Commenting on disarmament, the West German foreign minister said that "Vienna I" is just the beginning and that real disarmament will only come. It must include not only the United States and the Soviet Union but also other European countries and the FRG as well. He stressed that West Germany is ready for radical disarmament. Germans are fed up with superpower politics for which they paid a high price in the past. They want to live in a peaceful Europe having good neighbourly relations with everybody, Minister Genscher concluded.

Archbishop Meets Von Weizsaecker

LD1503222390 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—Archbishop of Prague Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek granted today a private audience to visiting West German President Richard von Weizsaecker.

The archbishop of Prague expressed gratitude to West Germany for its attitude towards the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia in the past hard times. He praised the fact that when visiting Czechoslovakia in the past high West German representatives expressed their support for Czechoslovak believers by paying personal visits to Cardinal Tomasek.

The archbishop and the West German president, accompanied by Vice-Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher, also discussed possibilities of cooperation in the religious field between Czechoslovakia and West Germany.

Gala at Castle Ends Visit

LD1503223590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] West German President Richard von Weizsaecker ended his official visit to Czechoslovakia today.

This evening he met President Vaclav Havel and representatives of our political, cultural, and social life in state rooms of the Prague Castle, where Vaclav Havel held a gala dinner in his honor.

The two statesmen greeted members of the Prague diplomatic corps before the dinner. At the gala dinner, also present were Mrs. Olga Havlova, wife of the Czechoslovak president; Alexander Dubcek and other representatives from our legislative bodies, federal government, Czech and Slovak governments; the president's advisers; representatives from the Coordination Centre of Civic Forum, political parties, culture, education, and science, as well as representatives of the Czechoslovak World War II resistance abroad. The guests included Vaclav Neumann, chief conductor of the Czech Philharmonia, singer Marta Kubisova, film director Vera Chytilova, actor Josef Kemr, and many others.

The gala dinner took place in an informal and friendly atmosphere and then the two presidents left for Ruzyne Airport. [Prague CTK in English at 2048 GMT on 15 March adds the following: "West German and Czechoslovak Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Jiri Dienstbier exchanged here today documents on the establishment of new consulates in Bratislava and Munich."

Prague Domestic Service in Slovak at 2100 GMT on 15 March further adds:

"Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, foreign affairs minister Jiri Dienstbier and other officials bade farewell to him [Von Weizsaecker] and his entourage at Ruzyne Airport."]

Dienstbier Address Outlines Foreign Policy

LD1603133190 Prague CTK in English 1252 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today emphasized that Czechoslovakia has all prerequisites and international conditions for its quick and successful return to Europe.

Addressing a joint session of the foreign affairs committees of the House of the People and the House of Nations here today, Jiri Dienstbier emphasized that Czechoslovakia gave priority to its neighbours in pursuing these new principles of its international political activity. That is why such steps as visa-free travelling with Austria and removal of barriers on the borders with Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany have been taken.

Speaking about the question of a new position of Germany, which will also be discussed at the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers' meeting due to start here tomorrow, Jiri Dienstbier said that the unification is irreversible reality. "The unification of Germany should be used as a motive force for speeding up the Helsinki process with which we could finally close World War II as well as the cold war." The minister voiced the conviction that the second Helsinki summit will take place next autumn.

Jiri Dienstbier described the signing of an agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory by June next year as a result achieved in an unexpected short period of time, as a step significant not only for the necessary normalization of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations in the future but also as part of new relations in the all-European context.

The minister spoke of major Czechoslovak initiatives in the coming period, including a meeting of leading state officials of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary in Bratislava on April 9. This meeting is to serve mainly as an informal exchange of views. Present as guest at the meeting will also be the foreign ministers of Italy, Yugoslavia and Austria.

Czecoslovakia has actively joined the preparations to create a group of Alpine-Danube cooperation. This will be discussed in Vienna on May 11 by the foreign ministers of Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Havel Congratulates Gorbachev on Election

LD1503210890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel sent a letter of congratulations to Mikhail Gorbachev. It reads as follows: Esteemed Mr. Gorbachev. I congratulate you sincerely on your being elected to the post of the president of the USSR. I see in your personality one of the guarantors of irreversibility of the processes taking place in the USSR which should guarantee freedom, democracy and prosperity to all the peoples and nationalities. I believe that the relations between our countries will develop in the spirit of mutual respect, equality and friendship. I wish you all strength and optimism in performing your responsible role.

Balcar Comments on Vienna Armed Forces Talks

LD1603103490 Prague CTK in English 2024 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Vienna March 15 (CTK correspondent)—The sixth round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, attended by 23 member states of the two military groupings, opened here today.

Head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the talks Ladislav Balcar told CTK he supposed that stands could come closer in the sphere of air force. Time has also come for the removal of the last obstacles hampering determination of the definitions of tanks, armoured vehicles and helicopters, he pointed out.

"The break has enabled us to study NATO proposals of February 22 concerning information, verification and a control system on the basis of unappealable inspections. They are constructive proposals creating a good basis for talks to come", the Czechoslovak official stated.

He went on to say that political circles and the public in Czechoslovakia have been satisfied with the fact that in the course of the previous round of the talks a solution was found to such an important issue as cuts in numbers of Soviet and U.S. troops deployed in Europe outside Czechoslovakia. He pointed out that fruition of the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement on a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is in harmony with this agreement.

Delegation Begins Working Visit in Finland

LD1503035290 Prague CTK in English 2241 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Helsinki March 14 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Government delegation arrived here for a four-day working visit to Finland. Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa is expected to arrive here tomorrow in the evening.

A number of meetings and talks will be held here. The Czechoslovak delegation will also meet with representatives of the Finnish parliament and the Finnish-Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce. It will have talks with Finnish Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio.

Visit Priorities Outlined

LD1503180690 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa left here today for a three-day official visit to Finland at the invitation of his Finnish counterpart Harri Holkeri.

During his visit the Czechoslovak premier will confer with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, Chairman of the Parliament Kalevi Sorsa, Premier Harri Holkeri, Foreign Minister Pertti Paasi and other representatives.

Traditionally friendly Czechoslovak-Finnish relations are continuing to develop positively in all spheres, having developed over the years through top level diplomatic exchanges.

Diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Finland were established at legation level in 1923 and were upgraded to embassy level in 1959.

Economic cooperation, which is the top priority for both countries, has been governed by treaty since 1921. In 1974, Finland became the first advanced capitalist country with which Czechoslovakia signed an agreement on removing mutual trade barriers. The two countries' economic contacts are based on a long-term program of development and extension of economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation signed in 1982.

The two countries' trade turnover amounted to $203.6 million in 1989. Compared with 1988, Czechoslovak imports from Finland increased by 20 per cent in 1989 and Czechoslovak exports by seven per cent.

Czechoslovakia's exports to Finland include rolling material, textiles, tractors, cars, tires and leather footwear, as well as equipment for the Sainajoki thermal power plant. Imports from Finland include non-ferrous metals, cellulose, paper machines and machine tools. In 1988, a new program of cooperation in cultural, scientific and health spheres was signed for 1988-1990.

Calfa Arrives; Attends Dinner

LD1503233790 Prague CTK in English 2115 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Helksinki March 15 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa arrived here for a working visit to Finland tonight at the invitation of his Finnish counterpart Harri Holkeri.

Shortly after arrival he attended an official dinner given at his honour by the Finish premier.

Harri Holkeri stressed that the Finnish-Czechoslovak relations have a long tradition and that the recent development has accelerated the need for their intensification.

Finland expects that bilateral economic relations will advance to a new level corresponding with the means and abilities of both partners. Finland is willing to support Czechoslovakia's efforts at modernization of economy. New possibilities of bilateral and multilateral cooperation must be studied, he underlined.

The discussions in Helsinki offer the opportunity to fully experience once again an extraordinary value—the idea of a common European home, Marian Calfa stressed at the dinner here tonight.

"United and safe Europe will provide much greater space for the development of economic, cultural and inter-human contacts. We have much to offer to each other", the visiting Czechoslovak premier underlined.

Sacher Meets With Pope, Italian Party Chief

LD1503123690 Prague CTK in English 2019 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Rome March 14 (CTK correspondent)—Pope John Paul II received Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher in the Vatican today.

The minister conveyed to him greetings from Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. He informed him of the preparations for pope's visit to Czechoslovakia and discussed with him some other issues.

The pope expressed pleasure over visiting Czechoslovakia, sent greetings to President Vaclav Havel and said that he prays for the endeavour of the Czechoslovak president, the government and all people on their path towards democracy.

The Czechoslovak interior minister today met with General Secretary of the Italian Christian Democratic Party Arnaldo Forlani with whom he discussed possibilities of extending cooperation between the Italian Christian Democratic Party and the Czechoslovak People's Party.

Civic Forum Organizing for Pre-Election Campaign

AU1503145590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "CF Selects Candidates"]

[Text] Prague—On Saturday, the Congress of Civic Forum [OF] Coordinating Centers from all Czech and Moravian districts dealt with organizational matters, particularly with the entry of the OF into the pre-election campaign and into the elections.

It has been decided that before the end of next week OF pre-election meetings will take place in each district and candidates for the highest representative bodies in the federation and in both republics will be selected. Regional pre-election meetings will then select from them the regional candidates no later than 25 March. Their number is set by the election law. The OF Coordinating Center will also submit its proposals and the final lists of candidates, which should include representatives of political parties as well as independent candidates, to be decided by the OF Assembly.

Pre-election arguments within Czechoslovak Social Democracy initiated a stormy discussion. Originally, this party was to run within the OF framework. It is now considering an independent list of candidates. According to Petr Kucera from the OF Coordinating Center, however, a possibility exists that the Social Democracy will split: one part will enter the election independently, the other within the OF framework.

And what about members of other political parties who work in the OF while their parties submit their own nominations? It is impossible, as a matter of principle, that they would stand for election under the OF.

Parties Fail to Reach Agreement on Coalition

AU1503145290 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Mar 90 p 1

["(ZN)"-signed report: "An End to Hopes For Unity?"]

[Text] Prague—During the evening of 9 March another meeting took place between the newly established agricultural parties and movements and representatives of the agricultural section of the Civic Forum [OF] Coordinating Center.

In his introduction, Mr. Kucera, an OF representative, stated that the purpose of the meeting is to determine possibilities for merging or, at least, for forming a coalition of parties and movements. This is what our villages want. A great number of parties and movements isolated within a village not only polarizes their strength but also confuses future voters.

Individual party representatives submitted facts about their membership base and their registration. The Free Farmers' Party has been added to the already registered Czechoslovak Agrarian Party. The Political Movement of Members of Agricultural Cooperatives, which evolved from the Union of Cooperative Farmers, has been registered anew. According to information from the party's representatives in the Czech and Slovak Republics, this is a political movement which wants to cease its activity after the elections to the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils. Instead of unity, then, more polarization.

In view of the fact that it will be necessary in the very near future to compile lists of candidates for the elections, representatives from individual parties expressed their views on whether they want to enter into an electoral pact with the OF or whether they want to campaign independently. The Civic Forum is promising that only two or three representatives from each party who have a chance of being elected can be included on its list of candidates from the center. Representatives from the Party of the Czech and Moravian-Silesian Countryside and the Czechoslovak Republican Agrarian party of Towns and the Countryside decided immediately on a pact with the OF. The representative from the Free Farmers' Party requested delaying the final talks. The Czechoslovak Agrarian Party and the Political Movement of Members of Agricultural Cooperatives will go into the elections independently. Again the unity of all political forces has suffered a defeat—this time, it seems permanent.

Moravian-Silesian Initiative Forges Platform

AU1503155990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
14 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Agreement in Moravia"]

[Text] Olomouc—After yesterday's meeting in the Regional History Museum in Olomouc, which lasted for more than three hours, a fundamental seven-point agreement was reached between representatives of individual Moravian-Silesian civic initiatives and representatives of the local civic forums. This result has become the platform for Moravians at the 17 March Civic Forum assembly in Prague. Participants agreed upon autonomy and equal rights for Moravia and Silesia; this should not be in the form of a federation but should be a provincial system [krajinske zriadenie]. The participants in the talks also expressed their views on the problem of executive and legislative organs and suggested the possibility of establishing a capital city, or rather, a capital city of the cities in the Moravian-Silesian region. They also supported the idea of establishing at least three statutory cities in Moravia and Silesia.

University Group Condemns Civic Forum's Cibulka

LD1503191190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Summary] The coordination center of the university Civic Forum organization in Masaryk University in Brno has adopted a joint statement on the "confrontational situation" in the Brno Civic Forum. They accuse the Civic Forum press and information center on Mecova street in Brno, headed by Petr Cibulka, of splitting the Brno Civic Forum and tarnishing its good name. They dissociate themselves from the methods it uses to promote its views, and take the view that Petr Cibulka is not discharging his duties properly and has violated the principles of Civic Forum in general, and the ethics of political and human behavior.

Civic Forum Official Dismisses Popularity Fall

LD1503190990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Summary] Civic Forum gaved a regular press conference today on Civic Forum's "most topical problems." Civic Forum official Jan Urban said the political conflict between Jaroslav Sabata and Petr Cibulka in Brno would be discussed tomorrow at a meeting of the council of the Civic Forum coordinating center.

Asked how he viewed the fall in Civic Forum's popularity in the latest polls, Urban said he thought the latest poll, with only 700 respondents, could not be compared with the poll in January which had 2,000 respondents.

Urban added that since 75 percent of Civic Forum supporters did not want the movement to become a formal political party, speculation about the future status of Civic Forum in the pre-election campaign was misplaced.

Slovak National Front Issues Statement

LD1503175490 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] The Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic published a statement from a meeting at which representatives of political parties and social and interest organizations and movements evaluated the tasks of the National Front at the present time and their own share in fulfilling them. They also concerned themselves with the overall internal political situation.

In this connection the session of the National Front Central Committee expressed support for the effort of the Government of the Slovak Republic for the democratic renewal of society. It expressed appreciation for the fact that the government wishes to and will serve the people and has correspondingly begun creating the social, material, organizational, and legislative conditions for preparing and realizing free elections.

In the nationwide front, says the statement, we accept with agreement the first steps taken in the area of reforms of sociopolitical life, and the improvement of the environment and the health of citizens, in the economic, social, and cultural spheres. We support the proposal of the Slovak National Council for the state emblem of the Czechoslovak Federation and its name Federation Czecho-Slovakia. We consider it positive that nationalities questions are being dealt with. We condemn manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism which do not contribute to the peaceful atmosphere of building a democratic state. We are aware that we must not allow a deterioration in the economic situation and that we must not disrupt the social certainties of our people. For this reason we expect that the whole of the civic public, members of political parties, and organizations and movements united in the National Front of the Slovak Republic will, through their work, make an active contribution to fulfilling the tasks contained in the program statement of the government of national understanding of the Slovak Republic.

We equally expect that the government will give true and comprehensive information to political parties, civic movements, and social and interest organizations about all important questions connected with solving the current problems of Slovakia. We consider it vital that the government accelerates work on the Slovak constitution and puts it forward for public discussion in the shortest possible time. In doing this it is necessary to consistently ensure upholding the constitutional division of spheres of influence between the republics and the federation. We once again emphasize the demand that all political parties and civic movements be assured of equal access to television, radio, and the periodical press. We support the resolution of the government of the Slovak Republic about the publication of the NARODNA OBRODA daily as an independent press organ of the citizens of Slovakia. We express the opinion that social organizations united in the National Front independently of political parties must have space created for them for independent and active participation in free elections to national committees.

In conclusion the statement of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Republic expresses the conviction that we will build an all-round developed democratic Slovakia with the joint efforts of the government and of the National Front as an association for its subjects, with the participation of the citizens and their active and courageous work.

Socialist Party To Merge With Exile Group

LD1603133590 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party should merge at its congress in Prague on March 16-18 with the exile Czechoslovak National Social Party, today's congress of the exile party, held for the first time here, decided.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the exile Czechoslovak National Social Party are the followers of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party which belonged before 1948 to the most significant parties in Czechoslovakia. After February 1948 the Czechoslovak National Socialists were persecuted by the Communist Party and forced to change the name of their party to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. A number of its members were imprisoned and executed and many of them emigrated. These emigrants have created the exile National Social Party above all in the USA, Canada, Australia, Switzerland and Austria.

Private Farmers' Party Presents Demands

AU1503150390 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Mar 90 p 7

[Article by M. Vanura, chairman of the Czechoslovak Republican Agrarian Party of Towns and the Countryside: "The Countryside Is Emerging From a Period of Darkness"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Committee of the Czechoslovak Republican Agrarian Party of Towns and the Countryside [Ceskoslovenska republikanska strana zemedelska mest a venkova] has decided on the following demands, which it publicly presents to the Federal Assembly and the government in this way:

1. On 27 February, private farmers raised five points in front of and inside the Federal Assembly building. We fully identify with the contents of these.

2. We ask the Federal Assembly and the Government to approve at their next meeting a law on rehabilitation and compensation for property. We offer our legal commission's expert advice in drafting this law. This law should provide for the payment of compensation by those responsible for the damage incurred, within a period of five years, for instance. Let us add that we are well aware of the state's difficult financial situation.

3. We demand the return of the property of the former Agrarian Party, including the building of RUDE PRAVO and its printing plant, to be able to publish our own VENKOV [Countryside] and avoid having to depend on a "favor" from anyone to get our views published.

4. We demand from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] a compensation of 1 million korunas for every year since 1945 for the unlawfully expropriated building and printing plant.

[point 5 missing, as published]

6. We demand the rehabilitation of the Czechoslovak Republican Agrarian and Small Farmers' Party (see the Kosice Government Program).

7. We demand the impoundment of the property, including bank accounts in Czechoslovakia and abroad, of persons who were and are responsible for the activity of the CPCZ and its policies in the past years until their guilt or innocence is determined.

All-People's Party To Enter Elections

AU1503125090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Mar 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Green Light to Entrepreneurship"]

[Text] Prague—The All-People's Democratic Party of Tradesmen and Entrepreneurs [VDS] now has a membership of over 25,000. It will apparently enter the elections independently. The VDS is a political party which concentrates on the support of free enterprise and pushes for laws which enable entrepreneurs to acquire necessary premises and gain equal access to the market.

New Organization Seeks Prisoners' Protection

AU1503145890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Mar 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Protection of Prisoners' Rights]

[Text] The Committee for the Protection of Prisoners' Rights [Vybor na ochranu vezenskych prav], whose preparatory committee has published its founding statute, intends to deal with questions relevant to the Czechoslovak prison system. Among other things, the document assigns the following tasks:

To protect the legitimate claims of all prisoners in the Czech Republic and to cooperate in this direction with all institutions and initiatives of our society, particularly in ensuring timely and lawful settlement of complaints and demands of prisoners.

To function as an advisory institution in all negotiations at various levels of the relevant bodies which are related to prisoners serving their terms.

To cooperate with the press and other mass media in such a way that the public be timely and correctly informed about what is happening in prisons. In this way, a justified supervision by the public over the conditions of imprisonment and custody would be guaranteed.

Exile Journal Announces Home Publication

LD1503222290 Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)—Journal of the Czechoslovak socialist opposition "LISTY", issued in Italy in the past 20 years and secretly distributed to Czechoslovakia, will be published in Czechoslovakia now, former director of Czechoslovak Television told newsmen here today.

Jiri Pelikan, who was stripped of citizenship 20 years ago and who is currently European Parliament deputy, added that at the same time the journal will become an independent bimonthly (occurring every two months).

The journal "LISTY" was one of the main sources of intellectual, ethical and political resistance to totalitarian power in Czechoslovakia. Its main task was to defend the legacy of the "Prague Spring" of 1968 in Czechoslovakia.

The journal has thousands of subscribers throughout the world. Czechoslovak as well as Hungarian and Polish authors who were not allowed to publish their works in the past 20 years wrote articles for "LISTY."

Jiri Pelikan pointed out that in connection with the events of the 1989 autumn in Czechoslovakia the conception of the journal is also changing. LISTY should become a European journal to which foreign authors would regularly contribute. It would be a journal of a broad political spectrum supporting the process of democratization, bringing various views of East and West and helping Czechoslovakia in its return to Europe, Mr Pelikan concluded.

De Maiziere: Coalition Only With Whole Alliance

LD1503230390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2151 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] At a news conference of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], the German Social Union [DSU], and Democratic Awakening [DA] in Berlin today, CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere stressed that there could only be a coalition with the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in a new government with the "alliance as a whole." DA Deputy Chairman Dr. Bernd Findeis stressed that the SPD's election tricks during the last few days have only pursued the aim of splitting the Alliance for Germany.

During the past few days, SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme has ruled out the possibility of his party joining with the DSU after the elections.

De Maiziere Interviewed

PM1603091490 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 24 Feb 90 p 7

[Report on unattributed interview with GDR Christian Democratic Union Chairman Lothar de Maiziere in East Berlin; date not given]

[Text] Lothar de Maiziere, top leader of the GDR's CDU (Christian Democratic Union), does not try to conceal the enormous difference in size between it and its larger brother—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's CDU. On the contrary, he emphasizes the disparity between "an interclass party with close relations with the business world" and his own, which is financed by "our members." At CDU headquarters in the center of East Berlin, he accepts his past as a collaborator with the communist regime as a part of the collective guilt. "Bertolt Brecht said that we could not choose another people," he said with respect to a possible handicap for the CDU's future in the GDR.

[LA VANGUARDIA] How does your party, which seems doomed to political absorption, differ from the Western CDU?

[De Maiziere] Following German unification, there will not be two parties, although our concern is that the two parties be able to maintain their identities. The CDU in the FRG has evolved into an interclass party with close relations with the business world. On the other hand, our party at first had a purely Christian membership—a situation that was not exactly an advantage. Anybody who wished to advance had to join the (Communist) Socialist Unity Party of Germany. We had, of course, no connection with the business world. We had relations with commerce, but here it was small-scale and subject to tough legal restrictions. Because of all this, our role in social matters has not been significant. With respect to unification, our most important task will be the social issue.

[LA VANGUARDIA] Could this image of the Western CDU as the party of the business world be to your party's detriment?

[De Maiziere] We receive money only from our members and from two factories that we control, as well as a publishing house.

[LA VANGUARDIA] However, your party collaborated with the communist regime. Do you believe that part of the electorate could now punish you?

[De Maiziere] Some 90 percent of the population reconciled themselves to living with the regime's laws for 40 years. Bertolt Brecht said that we could not choose another people, and I believe that a situation like this can be understood in Spain. It was not an easy stage after Franco, either.

[LA VANGUARDIA] Are you in a hurry to achieve German unification?

[De Maiziere] No, unification does not worry me, but I regret that we are virtually going to collide, instead of quietly moving toward each other. It would be better for us to move slowly, since there are great social differences.

[LA VANGUARDIA] Some people refer to unification as an "anschluss" or simple annexation of the GDR.

[De Maiziere] I do not like the word "anschluss," which refers to the annexation of Austria.

[LA VANGUARDIA] But it is used by various political leaders in the GDR.

[De Maiziere] Yes, I know, but I do not like this word to be used. This term means that we would automatically accept the FRG's whole legal and social order without reservation, but we wish to take part in drafting other laws, especially with respect to the social aspects.

[LA VANGUARDIA] One of your allies, Pastor Eppelmann, is in favor of a coalition, because if the next government does not hold 60 percent of the votes there will be another revolution. Do you agree with this opinion?

[De Maiziere] The most important thing is that we be strong enough for it to be impossible to conduct politics without us.

[LA VANGUARDIA] Do you believe that the communists are disunited in this transitional stage?

[De Maiziere] (Prime Minister) Hans Modrow spoke out on unification without consulting the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) leadership. The greatest difference lies in the fact that (PDS First Secretary) Gregor Gysi states that unification will come because of pressure; Modrow maintains that unification is our path.

[LA VANGUARDIA] What kind of relationship is there between the CDU and the Evangelical Church hierarchy?

[De Maiziere] Over the past 40 years, relations have not been good, but I now believe that most Protestants are moving toward the CDU. Before holding this post, I was deputy chairman of the Federation of Protestant Churches Synod.

[LA VANGUARDIA] What is your party's stance on the military problems stemming from unification?

[De Maiziere] This is the most complex problem of unification, on which there is not yet agreement.

[LA VANGUARDIA] But do you believe that the Genscher plan is feasible?

[De Maiziere] The ideal thing would be to link the German question with the situation at the European level. The Genscher plan, which proposes an FRG that is a NATO member but with the GDR's territory neutralized, is a possibility, but not the only one.

[LA VANGUARDIA] Could unification entail a resurgence of the extreme right?

[De Maiziere] No, I do not believe that the extreme right has shown any progress over the past few months. What has happened is that the new political situation has made visible a problem that already existed. In the future, a democracy that is functioning will be able to tackle this problem, but we do not yet have a democratic system. The extreme right always emerges when the future is not clear. When the economy is functioning, this danger does not exist.

Berlin Daily Cites Modrow on Unification

LD1603093190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0246 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—"In the past few weeks we all recognized, some already knew this before, that the German nation continues to exist and that dual sovereignty cannot be a solution forever." This was said by the outgoing GDR Premier Hans Modrow today in an interview for BERLINER ZEITUNG.

Asked about his political support for "Germany, one fatherland", which was surprising to many people, he said: "Politicians are only human. One lives with ideals, has ideas about the future. Then one finds out after a while that not every one goes the right way, that realism is necessary in considering all social processes and factors involved."

On that basis, he came to realize that it is right to take such an initiative. It opened up a new perspective for the GDR. It must naturally be embedded in the overall European process. For the Germans, it should proceed in such a way as to point the way forward and to guarantee peace for Europe.

Whether in Warsaw, Moscow, or Sofia—everywhere understanding could be felt and heard for the fact that the two German states will grow together because the German people want that growing together. At the same time, it has been repeatedly stressed that prudence and a wise, gradual, and stage-by-stage approach is needed so that something that later turns out to be greater Germany is not cobbled together. "I am thus for one fatherland, but not for a hurried fatherland." [passage omitted]

PDS To Expand Activities Into FRG

LD1503214890 Hamburg DPA in German 1051 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The successor party to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], aims to expand its activities to federal territory and West Berlin. This was announced by PDS executive member Andre Brie today in an interview with the left-wing alternative Radio 100. Presence in both German states will be decisive for the party's future, he said. "We are working very seriously on this and there are already inquiries from the FRG and West Berlin about organizing PDS groups," Brie said. A united Germany needs a strong, left-wing socialist force, "in which the PDS plays a part."

PDS' Gysi Addresses Various Issues

On Social Security

AU1503102890 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 15 Mar 90 p 5

[Interview with Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi by Robert Misik; place and date not given: "The Social Fears Are There"]

[Text] [Misik] Mr. Gysi, your party is conducting its election campaign while playing upon the people's fears about social issues. It this not also a dangerous game?

[Gysi] This simply is not true. We repeat again and again that nobody must have fears about social issues if one condition or another—and they are realistic—can be brought about. Moreover, the fears are there; we take them seriously. This is a difference.

[Misik] However, the conditions to which you refer will lead to the unification of the two German states in the very long term....

[Gysi, interrupting] This simply is not true!

[Misik] Well, the currency union would hardly be made a reality before the end of the year....

[Gysi, interrupting] But an integrated currency system could be implemented. Think of the many social questions that would be solved by it. And, at the same time, the entire economic and legal structure of the present GDR would not be put off balance by a precipitate measure.

[Misik] That is to say, you do not believe that in view of the dramatic economic situation, hesitation at this moment would now trigger far greater social problems?

[Gysi] No, I do not believe this at all. A strong government that takes considerate action could control the situation.

Stresses Political Stability

LD1503171990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Guestrow (ADN)—"I assume that the most important thing after 18 March is political stability," because that is an important prerequisite for economic stability as well. Gregor Gysi, the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] leading candidate, put forward this view during an election rally for his party this afternoon at the Guestrow Teacher Training College. Arriving from Wittstock, the PDS chairman was given an enthusiastic welcome by around 500 students and lecturers in the overflowing great hall of the educational institution.

In a lively dialogue with his listeners, Gysi repeated the PDS position calling for a sovereign GDR with a legitimate and strong government to secure the interests of the GDR's population during the unification process. He described a strong PDS group in the future parliament as being just as necessary. Even from a social democrat-led government, policies can only be as social or social democatic as there is pressure from the left.

Other questions and answers concerned with the PDS' position [illegible] the continuing exodus of refugees, the future treatment of people's property, and the party's position on monetary union. In response to a relevant question, Gysi stated that he could not imagine a ban on the PDS or other left-wing parties and movements after 18 March. There is no legal basis for this.

His remark that the PDS is in favor of the retention and raising of grants and against the federal law on the promotion of education met with much applause. Apart from this, he supported flexible admission of students and the opportunity to change subjects. Another electoral rally with Gysi is planned for this evening in Rostock.

On Abolishing Conscription

LD1503202390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1815 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—At a Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] election rally this afternoon, to the applause of thousands of Rostockers, PDS top candidate Gregor Gysi reaffirmed his party's proposal to abolish conscription. This proposal, which has found agreement with left-wing forces in many places, was greeted with silence or rejection from other parties because their mother parties in Bonn obviously did not wish it, he said. "The PDS does not need to telephone Bonn first because we have become an independent party, capable of acting."

Speaking about his party's role after the People's Chamber elections, Gysi said in light of the fear of social cuts in a speedy unification of Germany: "Those forces that wish to carry out such social cuts ought to know that the streets will then become ours." Market economy, which prevails in two-thirds of the world, does not have to bring massive unemployment and social cuts in its wake.

The inhabitants of Rostock—a coastal town that has had close links with ports all over the world for decades—waved numerous GDR flags and applauded when Gregor Gysi called out: "The PDS does not want a Germany at the cost of the Third World." There is every reason to show pride and to say in no uncertain terms: Kohl will not get us for nothing, he said.

Enthusiastic shouts of "Modrow, Modrow; Gysi, Gysi" echoed around the large university square from where the Rostockers, foreign sailors, and tourists spilled far into the side streets. Rostock PDS members gave their chairman a steering wheel and a ship's bell so that the party can always steer the right course.

PDS' Hans Willerding Interviewed

PM1503145090 Madrid MUNDO OBRERO in Spanish 14-20 Feb 90 pp 32-33

[Interview with Hans J. Willerding, Party of Democratic Socialism international relations chief, by Pablo P. Marmol; place and date not given]

[Text] [Marmol] Where should the origins of the current political situation experienced by the GDR in general and the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] in particular be sought?

[Willerding] In my opinion, we should distinguish between subjective and objective causes—particularly emphasizing the objective causes in order to enable the party to draw correct conclusions—in order to know what must now be done. As regards the objective causes, I believe that the main cause was that in the past we did not succeed in connecting socialism with democracy. There was an idea that the leading role of the party—that is, in our case, the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]—meant administrative leadership. The outcome of this idea was—many people speak of Stalinist structures—a centralist political system in which the party set itself above the parliament and the government, a system in which politics were conducted from this building (he was referring to Central Committee headquarters) and not by the democratically elected bodies.

As a result, real democracy practiced by the people was abolished and we reached a situation of the workers' alienation from the means of production, of which, in principle, they were the owners. These were the objective causes. To this should be added a number of subjective factors, especially the factor concerning the former party leadership, which did not realize in time that the authoritarian administrative structures existing in society were bound to lead us eventually to contradictions that had to be resolved in the interest of the country itself. That is, that we must set up decision-making bodies with democratic legitimization, that the party must also democratize itself, that decisions should come from below, and that the best cadres should be chosen from below. The situation in the GDR was characterized over the past few years by the fact that 25 people—the former Politburo—dominated the whole country. To this should be added the aging of the former leaders and the strengthening of Stalinist stances on these matters. The misuse of the term "democratic centralism," which eventually was called just "centralism," also led to the sidelining of other democratic forces. We had an extensive debate about the dissidents. For instance, they had no opportunity to make their opinions known to society; they were sidelined. Groups of dissidents were formed who were discriminated against and in many cases arrested and tried, solely because they held different opinions. It is clear that this cannot be the attitude of worker and peasant power.

To these subjective factors we must also add the forces within the party—myself included—which perceived this deterioration but that lacked sufficient means to force a change. So the result was that democratic change came from outside—from the grass roots, from the workers, and also from the party grass roots. In fact this change occurred last fall, on the streets of Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig..., as you know.

The subjective factors include another that fills us with concern, and this is that the scant control that there was over the former party leadership led us to cases of abuse of power and also of corruption and the accumulation of personal wealth. This has discredited the party enormously among the public...

[Marmol] Are you not questioning through this whole process a certain idea of socialism? Are you not finally vindicating social democracy, which has always said that the prevailing political system in the countries of so-called "real socialism" is an absolutist power?

[Willerding] What we are questioning is a model of socialism as we know it, with which we grew up and whose birth I would put not in 1917 but in the mid-twenties. I am completely convinced that Lenin ultimately advocated a model of democratic socialism. What happened was that after Lenin's death this model of socialism developed by Marx and Engels was channeled in the direction of eliminating the democratic element. We must question this idea of socialism, because it has not worked in practice.

[Marmol] Let us talk about the general election scheduled for March. How is the PDS going to tackle this election? Does it have a definite plan?

[Willerding] Of course the PDS has a strategy. The party is determined to run as just another party in the general election. It is determined to contend for support... However, the important thing is the substance, and here there are several matters to be mentioned. One of them concerns the model of socialism advocated. We must develop a philosophy of democratic socialism and cooperate in the democratization of our whole society. This would begin with a clear separation of party and state. The party must not dominate the state; its task is to struggle for majorities in order to secure an effective parliamentary group through which it can bring its program ideas to the government.

Second, we are in favor of the economy's democratization on the basis of the nationalization of the most important sectors. This does not rule out cooperation with foreign capital or new forms of ownership: on the contrary. In connection with this, we want an extensive social welfare system, which already exists, and so I hope that people will acknowledge this fact... We want social justice precisely with that result. We are in favor of a socialist and democratic alternative on German soil, in contrast to the capitalism prevailing in the FRG.

[Marmol] How are you going to present yourselves to the electorate with these demands? The most logical thing would be for them to say that you have had 40 years to carry out everything that you wish to achieve now. Where is your credibility?

[Willerding] I do believe that the PDS can call for all these things. And the fact is that the model of socialism of which I am speaking to you was not this party's program in the past. From the viewpoint of substance, and hence from a political viewpoint, a radical break with the past is occurring. I believe that if we connect with the workers' interests and with their views, and if we succeed in placing the individual at the center of our political activity, the PDS could recover much of its credibility. To what extent we will achieve these aims, well, that is something that practice must show. It is this country's citizens who must decide on this.

[Marmol] What will happen if the policy of openness in the USSR fails? Will this have consequences for the model of socialism that you advocate?

[Willerding] I am firmly convinced that the democratization processes in the countries that we used to call "socialist countries" are irreversible. They are irreversible in the GDR and in the USSR alike. They are very painful processes because switching from a totalitarian and centralist power to a real democracy is a very complex process... We are seeing this in our country with the radicalization that is occurring—demonstrations, protests, and so forth. And of course, the question then is: What would a failure of perestroyka mean? The alternative would be a return to the past, and this is inconceivable, impossible. A number of social and political processes, whose origins are of an objective nature and that are irreversible, have begun.

[Marmol] Let us return to the election. Can you imagine yourselves adopting the role of an opposition party?

[Willerding] Yes!

[Marmol] Would you then conduct opposition politics?

[Willerding] Of course. It would be easy for us to say right now: "The party is discredited because its former leaders led the country to the greatest crisis in its history." We do not do so because we believe that the process of democratic transformation also needs time, and if the PDS does not back this country, peace and security, and the creation of conditions that will make free elections possible, then who will? The other parties are still emerging or being formed. So I believe that anybody who feels responsible for our country would see it in that way. This is the only reason why we do not say: "Let others take over government responsibility now and let us start acting as an opposition party already."

[Marmol] Does this mean that you see a future for the PDS?

[Willerding] Of course we see a future! The PDS is still the largest party in this country. In my opinion, the PDS has the clearest ideas about this country's future. It has considerable resources, especially with respect to its working class and intellectual members. How this human potential is used will depend on the party.

SPD's Boehme on Social Rights in New Germany

AU1503160190 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 13 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN report: "GDR's Social Democratic Party of Germany Wants To Preserve Social Rights"]

[Text] Bonn—The right to work, education, and housing, which are granted in the GDR but are not always implemented in practice, as well as the protection of mothers and children, should by all means be included in the Basic Law, or in the German constitution that is to be drafted.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] in the GDR wants to advocate this goal, SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme stated at a news conference in Bonn. Immediately prior to his meeting with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the SPD chairman stressed that the SPD will ensure an economic upswing, stability, and social protection after the elections during the preparations for the unification process.

Referring to the discussion about the path toward unification, SPD executive member and Minister Without Portfolio Walter Romberg stated that the GDR might be facing a situation in which Article 23 of the Basic law must be applied. In such a case, caution should prevail and nothing should be decided in a hurry. He said he hopes that the GDR will be able to express its interests and ensure that they are taken into consideration. Asked about the SPD's coalition plans, Ibrahim Boehme again ruled out a coalition with the Party of Democratic Socialism and the German Social Union.

CTK Interviews Eppelmann on Relations

LD1503190490 Prague CTK in English 1449 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin March 14 (CTK correspondent)—Rainer Eppelmann, minister of the GDR Government and leading representative of the Democratic Movement, the opposition party until recently, Rainer Eppelmann has told CTK that the tendencies of development in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia are identical.

The peoples of the two countries want a multi-party system, a socially and ecologically orientated market economy and a united Europe, he stressed.

Asked about prospects of the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia and the GDR, Rainer Eppelmann replied: "I am sorry but your chances are a little worse as there is no other Czechoslovak state with better economy as it is in the case of the GDR and the FRG."

As regards sore problems in the history of Czechoslovakia and the German nation, the GDR representative said that he welcomed in public the resolve of President Vaclav Havel to tackle what is a burden on their joint history.

"I would be very glad if a meeting between repesentatives of the new, freely elected government of the GDR and of your country takes place after March 18 (the day of parliamentary elections in the GDR). It could give an inmpetus to new development in relations between our nations. I am fairly convinced that what burdens the joint history of our nations could be historically elaborated and solved in a short period of time," Rainer Eppelmann added.

Asked whether the new democracy in the GDR will be able to tackle the expected rise in activity of right-wing extremists, e.g. republicans, he replied positively.

'Alliance-90' Candidate on Path to Unity

LD1503214290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1915 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bautzen (ADN)—Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann sees the only possible path to German unity through reaching a new constitution in free self-determination and by a referendum. The leading candidate of "Alliance 90," formed with Democracy Now, New Forum, and the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, stated this today at a voters' forum in Bautzen. Clear legal rules stand in the way of a unification via Article 23 of the FRG Constitituon. Ullmann said that one of the first steps of the new government after the elections should be to create new legal principles on property in order to relieve citizens of their worries.

Ullmann considers a coalition with the "Alliance for Germany" or with one of its three parties after the election as being out of the question; "everything else has to be discussed after the election results." Asked about concern over the former Stasi in connection with the Schnur affair, Dr. Ullmann said that the times when the former Ministry of State Security was a power are gone. Nurturing legitimate mistrust meant marginalizing former state security workers, and this held dangers. Ullmann spoke in favor of punishing criminal deeds. In reply to questions from the audience, he spoke against a commercialization of apartments and the construction of dwellings and gave information about ideas to organize real public property in the GDR, including the power to dispose of property.

Liberal Democrats Outline Election Policy

LD1503113790

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 14 March broadcasts a 15-minute election broadcast by the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP]. The program begins with the announcer asking party Chairman Rainer Ortleb about his views on German unification. Rainer says the aim should be economic, social, and monetary union as soon as possible, but a rapid unification through Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law could have considerable social disadvantages and must therefore be well thought-out. In addition, Germany's neighbors must be taken into account.

The announcer then asks Professor Wuensche how the LDP will counter the population's fears about the future, especially with regard to public property. He says property rights must be settled through legal processes and constitutional means. In this respect, his preference is for unification under Article 146 of the FRG Basic Law and the principle that the Basic Law will lose its validity when the German people adopt a new constitution; Article 146 is tailor-made for German unification. The important thing is to have a proper framework in the unification process in order to make the GDR an equal partner and not an object. A number of legal provisions have been created recently to allow a whole spectrum of ownership forms.

The announcer then turns to Prof. (Kajo) and asks about the prospects for the GDR's health service in a social market economy. (Kajo) says that a strong economy provides a basis for a good health and social service. At present there is only the appearance of social security; if major GDR enterprises are in the red, expectations regarding social security cannot be fulfilled in the country. A new economic power must emerge; in the LDP there are, for example, 23,000 craftsmen and tradesmen who can contribute, as can the large group of LDP doctors. The present state of the social services is extremely poor and the health service in particular needs a huge injection of cash. Many aspects of the GDR health service are worth preserving, although it must be decentralized in the future. Old people must receive better treatment than they have in the past.

The announcer asks [name indistinct] what the liberals have to offer women. She says the League of Free Democrats [which includes the LDP] wants to ensure that women get the same career opportunities as men in the social market economy. Improved services and infrastructure will reduce the double burden on women. The league wants women to be much more involved than previously in public life.

The announcer then asks each speaker why people should vote for the League of Free Democrats in Sunday's elections. Dr. Ortleb says people should have confidence in them. Prof. Wuensche says the league puts the individualism of each person first. Prof. (Kajo) says it is more necessary than ever today to maintain liberal values and tolerance. Mrs. [name indistinct] says that the league speaks to every section of the population.

Banned Republikaner Said Increasing Activities

LD1603060390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1940 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The "Republikaner" are increasing their activities from West Berlin to gain members in the GDR capital and to make their presence felt in spite of the ban by the People's Chamber. This emerges from a security analysis that Chief of Police Major General Dirk Bachmann presented today at the session of the Berlin roundtable. The skinhead scene is also developing to a considerable extent. Alongside the hard core of about 500 one has to reckon with an additional 2,000 sympathizers. The entry age is already now between 14 and 16. In the document it is assessed that, above all through security partnerships in election events, tolerance toward those who think differently, nonviolence, and fairness continue to dominate in Berlin. [passage omitted]

8 Parties Hold Election Roundtable

LD1603043390

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1900 GMT on 12 March carries a 2-hour live or recorded election program with top candidates from eight political parties.

The program announcer, Dr. Bernhard Buechel, invites the participating candidates to introduce themselves and answer the question: What would be your first political measure after 18 March? He stresses that 40 percent of the electorate appears not to have decided on their voting intentions. All is still fair play.

Eva Rohmann, Democratic Women's Federation of Germany (DFD) chairwoman, would aim to ensure that women keep their jobs.

Karl-August Kamilli, for the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the GDR, will continue to work for justice on land reform, and the ownership question.

Cornelia Wolfram, for the Alternative Youth List, would aim to guarantee the Polish Western border, to secure social security, and to prevent the alienation of foreigners.

Guenther Maleuda, Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany (DBD) chairman, would have to consider with which political forces the party should work to secure the interests of the farmers and country people.

Wolfgang Ullmann, a pastor and minister without portfolio, representing the election Alliance 90, would try to establish in law that each individual GDR citizen shares in the ownership of the GDR's assets, and to secure the rights of ownership of the people.

Party for Democratic Socialism (PDS) Chairman Gregor Gysi, a lawyer, would want to rest on 19 March. Afterward, his goal would be to do everything possible to ensure social security.

Peter-Michael Diestel, a lawyer and German Social Union (DSU) general secretary, would, if necessary, look for partners who would join in to strive for rapid reunification under Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law.

Eberhardt Stief, for the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD), would also like a break after the election. Then he would like to save what is worth retaining in the social sector.

A second announcer notes that a place is empty. It is set aside for a representative of the Federation of Socialist Workers, who failed to turn up.

Recent surveys have shown a change in people's concerns away from a desire for democracy and toward economic and social criteria. It has therefore been decided to concentrate on five areas here: money, children, property, work, and the socially vulnerable. It is intended to spend 20 minutes on each.

To begin with the question of money.

Diestel says: "The DSU has a warm and close relationship with money. It sees money as an expression of performance." His party and alliance aim for a rapid entry into a social market economy and rapid realization of a monetary union at a rate of 1:1. The DSU has trust in the competence of advisers on the subject from the FRG, especially the Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU). Rents should be economic. "The performance principle needs to be introduced into all monetary and economic questions," says Diestel.

Ullmann thinks there is something wrong with having a warm relationship with money rather than people. He warns that a monetary union cannot take place overnight. Children must not pay the price.

Kamilli states that the SPD also has a warm relationship with money. The SPD backs a monetary and economic union as soon as possible and an exchange of savings at 1:1.

Rohmann believes these questions are vital and sensitive. They must be solved with reason and realism. There is the impression that the quick introduction of the deutsche mark would allow people to buy the things they see in the FRG's stores, but many enterprises would cease to be viable. This would hurt many people. If subsidies go, people must be protected.

Maleuda says: "Money is playing a very major part in the election campaign." It has become a deutsche mark election. The deutsche mark is acting like a drug on people. Decisions must be made to protect people's savings.

Gysi considers the problem of the immediate introduction of the deutsche mark is that it would have to be the official means of payment for the whole economy. This would mean the closure of enterprises and unemployment. A gradual approach is needed.

Wolfram opposes dictation from the FRG on a monetary union. It must be negotiated. Many illusions have been created. Citizens must be told clearly what is involved.

Steif thinks the saver must be considered. The GDR is used to only some of the functions of money. People must learn its many other functions.

Diestel sees a monetary union as a way of keeping people in the GDR. He defends the DSU's alliances and search for friends in the FRG and asserts that the SPD has received money either from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] or the sister SPD.

Kamilli denies the SPD has received money from the SED.

Gysi rejects the notion that the PDS has given money to the SPD.

Diestel claims unemployment is undeniably an accompaniment of the social market economy. The DSU wants the sort of social network that exists in the FRG.

The second announcer moves the discussion on to the next section—children. There are many fears among the population about such questions as child benefits, school meals, child day-care centers, kindergartens, and schooling. What are the participants' views?

Wolfram cannot imagine that the FRG social network can be adopted overnight. These things must develop gradually. There must be a system that retains or develops what has been achieved here. As an example of what could happen, she details cases of youth clubs being illegally closed. There must be a system that retains the GDR's social achievements.

Rohman compares the number of day-care places in the GDR and FRG, to the advantage of the former. It is not always the GDR that needs to catch up.

Ullmann says questions about children must not be immediately linked with money questions, but money is needed. Schools are badly in need of improvement. Margot Honecker turned schools into instruments of the state. There is much catching up to be done there. Schools must be changed so that children can be children.

Gysi feels unqualified to answer a question on the employment of former State Security officials as teachers.

Children are the future. A market economy need not involve social cuts. There are different forms of it. Scandinavia is a model. There are possible savings on energy and the armed services. Enterprises should not always begin the cuts within the most vulnerable areas. There is the question of how money is distributed. The GDR does not need to take negative things over from the FRG. "Why must we just become a bigger Federal Republic? asks Gysi. Why should we not strive to create a new Germany that is better than the GDR and also better than the Federal Republic?"

He asserts that he is not a supporter of the old command economy. But if that old economy can provide a social network, the new better system should provide better social security, not social cuts.

The education system must not be dependent on money questions. Improvements are needed in education and in the humanities.

Diestel thinks certain comparisons with the FRG are senseless. The FRG has another model. The DSU regards this model as correct. "We want to transfer the main burden of education from the parents," he says. A humanist world view must be developed. There must be diversity in education. "The market economy, as in the FRG, does not mean hostility toward children."

Stief believes that the question concerns not only schools and kindergartens. Education should not be left to parents. Schools and kindergartens should continue to play their role.

Maleuda feels that progress on child care must be carried over into the market economy. We must insist that what is contained in the social charter is secured by the new People's Chamber.

Diestel says the DSU was not involved in developing the social charter. It has its own program which matches the high level in FRG. The GDR is bankrupt and cannot overcome social problems without support.

Gysi replies that the DSU is following a model that aims to remove women from the economy. This should not be our model.

Wolfram feels that the social charter is very ambitious, but the DSU program does not match it. Are women to be made dependent on men?

Kamilli notes the nature of the educational system must be fundamentally changed. Schools must educate people, not train them for specific jobs.

Diestel emphasizes the idea of the "functioning marriage". Part of children's education must be in the home. Private education should also play a role. The DSU backs the retention and improvement of the social system.

Next Buechel moves to the section on property.

Kamilli says public ownership of property should be scrapped. The SPD supports a social market economy, a mixed economy. Publicly owned property would be privatized by the SPD. Medium-sized firms must particularly be promoted, as "they play a particularly positive, progressive role in the economy," he claims. The SPD has issued two statements on land ownership. "The land reform of 1946 should not be reversed." The ownership of houses built on this land should also stand. Supply and demand should not be permitted yet in housing. Former owners should not be able to return from the FRG and evict present occupants of property.

Maleuda points out that for all the talk on the failing economy, remember that the peaceful revolution was well fed. The farmers should be thanked for that. The DBD holds the view that the principle of land reform and land ownership must be maintained. At the present time, former landowners are paying visits, particularly in the north, returning to examine old lands. This is causing uncertainty.

Gysi believes that concerns about property ownership are justified but the problems are solvable. It should be noted that if the GDR joins the FRG under Article 23, if FRG law is taken over, those who left the country could say they were forced to give up their property. "What we need," he stresses, "is a treaty binding in international law in the unification process that ensures that property rights and rights of use that have come about—if they accord with the then law of the Federal Republic in the Federal Republic or the then law of the GDR in the GDR—are retained. This can be settled, it can be agreed." Otherwise this could end as a legal catastrophe. There must be various forms of property in the future, no monopoly of one form.

Ullmann states that new steps must be taken, in part because the Basic Treaty between the GDR and FRG really means that Article 23 does not apply. Ownership questions remain and were not settled by the treaty. The government must establish that each citizen receives his share of the GDR's assets and the individual share should be documented. The land ownership question is certainly a major and serious one. At least one related suicide is known.

Diestel claims the DSU has considered these questions and established a consensus with the farmers. The land reform is a historical fact. "We do not wish to be annexed under Article 23 but to enter self-confidently. It is stated in our program that a long period will be needed, perhaps five or 10 years when transitional rulings, harmonizing rulings, a process of juridical leveling take place." This also applies to the land ownership question. Within 10 years the DSU aims to have largely adopted the Federal Republic's legal system, Diestel says:

"We want to change the land reform, change land reform property into personal, private property." The state will have to create rulings preventing land speculation here. The farmers will have to decide themselves whether to continue in cooperatives or not. The DSU thinks the cooperative management should continue to a high degree.

Stief says this is a tortuous question. Clarity must be established soon after 18 March.

The second announcer brings up the next subject—work.

Stief believes trade needs to be prompted. Property consciousness must be promoted as this creates more motivation. Knowledge is lacking in many questions and the NDPD can help to prepare people.

Gysi says there are many different models for a market economy. Unemployment must and can be avoided. For instance, the working day is very long in the GDR. In principle, work can be divided so that it is spread among all people. There is certainly enough work to be done. The right to work and the banning of lockouts must be guaranteed in a constitution. The government would then be required to ensure retraining where needed.

Diestel thinks unemployment is an unattractive accompaniment to the market economy. It cannot be avoided that structures are changed, and people are released. But unemployment will not be the problem it is in the FRG. There is so much to do. For the transitional period, social arrangements must be made. "We are expecting an economic miracle." Capital will come here. New structures will emerge in agriculture. The cooperative form could continue there.

Maleuda notes that the path to the market economy will bring a very changed situation for farmers. In the FRG there has been a concentration process in farming. There will be requirements for equipment here. Things will no longer be organized centrally. The features of the market economy will come at every level. Great demands will be made on farmers, who must not be pushed to the margins of society.

Rohmann says the same points apply to women. There must be no entering a country that has no right to work.

Kamilli predicts there will soon be an upturn in the economy. There is so much work to do. This upturn will come for all. There will be a transitional period and this must be worked on. Changes will come within trade unions. Proportional membership will fall. A social network must be created. The financing must be found for this. Unemployment should not mean poverty.

Ullmann points out that in the FRG there is structural unemployment. The true problem of unemployment is not removed by a social network. There is the factor of human dignity. A reorientation of the economy is needed.

Wolfram says whatever we do will be an experiment. We should think now what sort of retraining is needed. The lack of thinking about that now is creating unease.

Kamilli believes people's fears center around the transitional period.

Stief thinks unemployment should be kept as low as possible. The restructuring of the economy will create many interesting jobs. People must be given the confidence that they can overcome this critical phase.

With time running short, Buechel suggests each participants say a final word on pensions and pensioners.

Rohmann claims an agreement with the FRG is needed to secure the position of pensioners. The minimum pension must be raised.

Kamilli believes present pensions are inadequate and pension reform is needed.

Wolfram notes there are great differences of pension levels here. These social differences should be levelled out.

Maleuda believes a social decision is needed to achieve pension reform and pension increases.

Ullmann says pension increases and justice over pensions are needed.

Gysi says another approach is needed for older people. Pension reform should involve increases and bring justice.

Diestel favors an immediate increase in pensions in line with the country's economic progress.

Stief thinks the economic strength is there to enable pension increases.

Buechel thanks the participants.

Meyer News Conference on Economy

LD1503174290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1421 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The situation in the GDR economy was again, as a whole, complex in February, but a partial process of stabilization emerged. This statement was made by GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer in Berlin today. Forecasts show that this stabilization will continue, he said at the government news conference. He said he believes the greatest achievement of the coalition government, enterprise management, workers, and state organs is that despite the difficult situation, production was maintained and supplies to the population were guaranteed. The economic trend in the month of February gave reason for muted optimism. They were able to halt the decline and achieve a slight growth in daily production. The reasons for the more favorable performance are the emerging effects of the economic reform, the performance-promoting influence of the government's stabilization program, and increased initiative by enterprises and institutions.

Referring to questions on the decision by the last roundtable on the deployment of state managers, Meyer said that the foundation of the Modrow government's personnel policy is expertise, personal integrity, and the law-abidingness of the persons who bear responsibility. The government has once again pointed out that all managers have to protect, preserve, and augment public property, strictly adhere to the labor and social welfare laws and protective measures, and must not conclude any agreements with business partners that violate legal foundations. Wherever these principles have been violated, changes have to be undertaken if necessary, based on democratic examination. At the same time the government is strongly against disputing the competence of all those in office.

The government strongly appeals to all parties and political associations to ensure the continuation of the stabilization process in the transitional phase, until the election of a new government with national responsibility for this country.

The government spokesman announced that from 1 April the GDR People's Chamber Secretariat is to assume legal responsibility for the building of the Party for Democratic Socialism party executive. [passage omitted]

Lufthansa Buys Interflug Shares

AU1503150590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Lufthansa Buys Interflug Stock"]

[Text] Berlin—The FRG's Lufthansa AG company will take over a 26-percent minority shareholding of the GDR airline Interflug. This decision was adopted in a strike ballot, which was concluded on 13 March, by 91.4 percent of the 7,000 Interflug employees. This decision underlines that the employees have taken possession of the company and want to shape its future, the general manager of Interflug, Klaus Henkes, stated.

GDR-FRG Cultural Commission Established

AU1203133790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Mar 90 p 4

[Report by ND-Goertz: "GDR-FRG Cultural Commission established"]

[Excerpt] A joint cultural commission, which includes representatives of political and social organizations and institutions of both German states, was established in Berlin on 9 March. Premier Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl agreed to establish this body in December. [passage omitted]

FRG-GDR Declaration on Postal Union Signed

LD1403161190 Hamburg DPA in German 1548 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (DPA/VWD)—Federal Minister of Post and Telecommunications Christian Schwarz-Schilling and his GDR counterpart, Klaus Wolf, signed a joint declaration in Leipzig this afternoon on the founding of the German Postal Union. The ministers announced in a joint statement that the aim of the postal union is, on the one hand, to bring the GDR postal system up to the Federal German system's standard, and on the other hand to introduce new products on a joint basis with European standards. Wolf said that 5 billion marks would be spent on this up to 1994 or 1995.

Convertible Currency Trade With USSR Set

LD1503111990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1207 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—From 1 January 1991, sales of goods between the GDR and the USSR are to be in freely convertible currency and at world market prices. This is not at issue today; one must face this development, GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr. Gerhard Beil told ADN in Leipzig today after speaking to Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Venyamin Korolev. The talks concerned the fulfillment of contracts on important raw materials such as mineral oil, natural gas, and ferrous metal products. "We have stated unequivocally that the GDR will reliably fulfill the deliveries it has promised," Beil said. On the other hand, it is also expected that the contracts for imports from the USSR will likewise be fulfilled. Korolev had explained the present difficulties in fulfilling the mineral oil contract, but also promised that in the second quarter of 1990 at least an equal quantity of this raw material will come to the GDR as in the second quarter of 1989. This means, Beil said, that a greater promise has been given than previously.

The two politicians went into very great detail on how deliveries could be continued under the conditions existing from 1991 in the two countries. In the coming weeks there will be discussions in Moscow and Berlin with the aim of preventing a fall in the significant volume and the level of cooperation. A reduction in

GDR deliveries of engineering products would, in Minister Beil's view, lead to many combines not being able to fully use their capacity and to redundencies. This should not occur. The USSR, too, is interested in additional purchases from this branch of industry.

Beil also announced that there will be talks at the beginning of April in Moscow on trilateral cooperation between GDR combines, FRG concerns, and Soviet enterprises. In principle the USSR is showing interest in this new form of cooperation.

Proceedings of Closing National Assembly Session

LD1403114290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0900 GMT on 14 March begins carrying a live relay of the closing session of the 1985-1990 Hungarian National Assembly.

Lajos Horvath opens the session announcing that 332 deputies are present. He says that after discussing personnel issues the Assembly will discuss bills submitted by the government, followed by an address by acting Assembly speaker Istvan Fodor. After a recess, provisional President Matyas Szuros will deliver a festive speech to mark 15 March, followed by wreathlaying and a reception.

At 0909 GMT, the agenda is endorsed by the Assembly.

At 0910 GMT, agenda point one is discussed—personnel proposals for provisionally fulfilling functions of Supreme Court president and chief prosecutor. It is proposed that Zoltan Nagy be appointed acting Supreme Court president and Sandor Nyiri be appointed chief prosecutor. The proposal is accepted.

At 0915 GMT, the Assembly decides to discuss the other agenda points jointly.

At 0916 GMT, Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar takes the floor to submit the bill nullifying illegal sentences between 1945 and 1963. He recalls recent bills remedying the harm befalling people who suffered as consequence of illegal measures taken in connection with 1956, and adds that this current bill has the purpose of nullifying illegalities stemming from show-trials between 1945 and 1963. Kulcsar states that the government has set up a committee to review illegal elements in show-trials: the committee's report has been completed and will soon be made public. Research shows that although penal proceedings were launched against individuals, they were aimed at intimidating entire sectors and strata of society, he notes.

Kulcsar continues: the show-elements of such trials appeared in various forms, often with the use of fabricated charges. The law passed in 1989 providing remedies for people who suffered from illegalities relating to 1956 can serve as an example.

The trials after 1963 differed from those between 1945 and 1963, so they are not covered by the bill, according to Kulcsar. The bill does not cover war-crimes and crimes against the people; those who want a review of verdicts for such crimes must request this on an individual basis.

Kulcsar notes that there is an overlap between an earlier-passed law compensating those suffering as a consequence of 1956 and the current bill. On the topic of compensation, he reports that the government will soon appoint a commissioner who, with the help of other officials, will ensure that a law is prepared on full compensation.

The Assembly Legal Committee has added modifications to the bill, and the government agrees with this. If this bill is accepted, it will no longer be necessary to take measures for the nullification of illegal sentences on an individual basis, and this applies to issues such as that of Primate Jozsef Mindszenty.

The government has also reviewed matters of those who were stripped of Hungarian citizenship between 1947 and now, Kulcsar states. As a result, it has to be established that the practice of stripping people of citizenship was not in harmony with the legal stipulations even after 1957. He points out that, according to this bill, the laws stripping people of citizenship will be repealed retroactively from the date they came into effect.

Kalman Kulcsar concludes his submission at 0940 GMT.

A general debate on the bill ensues, with deputies expressing general support.

At 0956 GMT, voting on the bill begins. Two modification proposals are voted on and accepted. A proposal that the Assembly bow its head and apologize to the nation for those suffering from illegal verdicts is accepted with 338 votes in favor, one against, and nine abstentions. A vote on the bill repealing laws stripping people of citizenship is accepted with 344 votes in favor and five abstentions. A vote on bill to recompense those who were dragged away for forced labor in the USSR is accepted with 343 votes in favor and five abstentions. A vote on the bill compensating those illegally sentenced between 1945 and 1963 is accepted with 338 votes in favor and nine abstentions. A vote on the bill compensating those who between 1938 and 1945 were deported or suffered from racist or nation persecution is accepted with 342 in favor and six abstentions. A vote on the bill remedying the infringement of the collective rights of Germans in Hungary is accepted with 344 votes in favor and four abstentions.

The next speaker is Premier Miklos Nemeth. [see following item]

At 1016 GMT, acting speaking Istvan Fodor makes a concluding speech. Among other things he declares that the task of the future National Assembly will be very difficult, and it must be supported. Fodor concludes the session at 1035 GMT with a plea for national reconciliation, at which point the relay ends.

Nemeth Address

LD1503125490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1002 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed House, Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen. At this session today, you are closing a nearly five-year period; we together, parliament and government, are closing a 15-month period. You have worked together with several governments, but it was only the last one, that is the current one, which was regarded as being fully and absolutely answerable to you. Therefore, I believe that I am justified in regarding the past 15 months as the National Assembly's and the government's joint past, which all of us can think of with pride, with a clear conscience and reassurance concerning the task which has been completed. [passage omitted]

There are many who feel that this parliament and government did not fulfill what was expected of them, because they could not fulfill unfulfillable demands; they could not create prosperity and full social security; they did not eliminate the tensions which had accumulated over four decades; and there were many things which they did not do, which the people had expected and would have liked. But they fulfilled the historical command of the period, and they fulfilled what they undertook—indeed, on occasion they did even more.

Toward the end of 1988, we set ourselves the joint task of carrying out a change of model. Now, at the moment of saying farewell, we can rise from the benches with awareness that we have created the constitutional and legal possibilities and guarantees for a peaceful change of system. This was an unprecedented task, and I feel that we stood up to it. The only way this was successful was that, together with the task, we changed, too. But not only did we change, the political character of government and parliament also changed. Following the dismantling of the state-party and the party-state, the government proclaimed itself the government of the nation, answerable solely to parliament.

By the dismantling of the previous one-party system, the majority representation of this party in parliament came to an end. Through this, the condition was created for both parliament and government to be freed from obligatory representation of party interests, and for it to represent national interests, above the parties.

The new spirit of cooperation between parliament and government also enabled an acceptance and institutionalization of the political will which was formed in the debate of society's various views.

Esteemed fellow deputies, in only a few years since 1848, on perhaps one or two occasions, has so much happened as in 1989-90, in the removal of past ossifications, walls which hampered development, thereby opening a path to the future. The cooperation between parliament, government, the parties, and the social movements made it possible for a silent but genuine revolution to take place in Hungary.

In 1989-90, we brought about a constitutional revolution, just as in 1848. We knew that the people demanded a transformation of society and national independence, and we took action in accordance with the mandate from the people.

They wanted a bloodless revolution, and we carried out the people's will, together and jointly. We forged Hungarian independence not through bloody battles, but through constitutional means. We had it accepted by the Soviet Union, by the neighboring peoples, and by all of Europe. It was not through bloody battles that we dismantled the party-state. We undertook a much more difficult task. We abolished the dictatorship, and we created the constitutional order of democracy. We built the institutional system of democracy through constitutional means, enjoying the people's support and agreement.

And now the people can decide, at free elections, on the content of the system. The people will close the first phase of the peaceful transition with a sovereign decision, which is irrevocable for every political force. My conviction is that this was made possible by the special and virtually unprecedented cooperation of this parliament, which elevated itself above what it had been, the government which was answerable to it, and the political forces, the parties.

Allow me to be a little immodest on behalf of the government. The government has also risen above its own interests, or that of its members. Rather than looking at what worsens or improves its own situation, it focuses on not worsening the chances of the country or the next government, and if possible improving them. It does not expect thanks for this, nor did it receive any. It does hope for some understanding, but it is sure that history will provide satisfaction for the selfless policy of the parliament if only for implementing the historical deeds. The esteemed House can count on this all the more because it also demonstrated moral elevation. [passage omitted]

We made controversial decisions, too. It may be that the constitutional court, the body which this parliament created, will decide on one of these today. It was created so that there should be control even above the legislators. We should have no fear that even with the mistakes, the legal and political base on which the Hungarian room in the European joint home can be built,is solid. And, we have left our successors some construction materials, in the form of numerous prepared laws, which they can safely use according to their own discretion.

Esteemed fellow deputies, the parliamentary arena will be quiet for a while now; the lamps will go out. Then, a new phase follows, with a new parliament, a new government, new public figures. We can establish that the parliament and the government were correct in their mutual cooperation, were humble in the service of the nation, and were understanding and welcoming toward the parties which are stepping on to the arena of political struggles. We warded off the threatening crisis situations together; we undertook the responsibility together, and not for our own careers, but in the interests of the homeland and the people. We did what we did jointly, and so I think we do not expect thanks from each other. [passage omitted]

I hope and trust that there will be an objective yardstick. We have definitely demonstrated one thing, and the whole world took note of it: that the path of constitutional revolution in Hungary was possible. I would like to believe together with you that in our new house, which is being built, everyone will find a home; that its leaders will not be landlords who evicted some of the lodgers only because they accepted the old (?house order) in the old house. I would like to think that it will not be [word indistinct] fear which will direct us, but legal order, laws, and real democracy. Then every Magyar will be able to find a spiritual home and be at peace. [passage omitted]

Szuros Address

LD1503225190

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1100 GMT on 14 March broadcasts a live relay of a festive Hungarian National Assembly session marking Hungary's national day, which is celebrated on 15 March, in remembrance of the Hungarian liberation struggle of 1848-49.

During the Assembly session, acting Hungarian President Matyas Szuros delivers a 25-minute ceremonial speech. He says 15 March can be celebrated truly at a time when Hungary is in the vanguard, progressing toward democracy. We can now give this date the recognition it deserves. Fifteen March 1848 is a great date, which radiates a strong influence over the nation, and a date which the people nurture in their hearts. Great Hungarian figures of the past can be recalled.

Szuros says that unity is the only great social force which can take the processes begun to their conclusion. The lessons of 1848 must be learned. The conditions of a peaceful transition can only be built on national unity, and this is the main lesson of 15 March. The main basis of advance is the economy, which unfortunately has been squeezed into the background. Szuros trusts that the country will recognize this and will accept the tasks involved in restructuring the economy, which cannot be delayed.

The country needs clear legality, just legal conditions, secure property relations, with no possibility of discrimination on racial, political, nationality grounds, Szuros says. It would be dangerous if the party state were to be replaced by some other form of dictatorship. He stresses that democratic independence is needed, and an economic order which ensures the interests of the individual and the community. Only thus can Hungary become a part of the unifying Europe. Szuros trusts that tolerance will prevail in the coming period.

Szuros speaks briefly about the National Assembly and thanks those present for the work of historical significance that they have carried out in the interests of the peaceful transition, and that puts a great responsibility on their shoulders. Even in the most stormy times, the functioning capacity of the country was maintained, he says.

Szuros thanks all the speakers, deputy speakers, and National Assembly officials of this period; he thanks the press for their coverage and stresses the importance of their role.

Szuros calls on Hungary's parties, organizations, and movements to remember the importance of the economy and stability for the future of the country and the inhabitants. The strength of the country must be utilized well and thoroughly. Szuros says: "Esteemed fellow deputies, even in the great fever of restructuring, we cannot forget that it is not just Magyars who live within and outside the borders of the country. We must think together of the 10.5 million Magyar citizens, and the 15-16 million Magyars. Countries and peoples are divided by borders. These borders were drawn up after wars which had victors and losers. We must respect the borders and the European status quo, but the fate of all neighbors is intertwined independently of our borders, the future of our peoples, and our revolutions. For this reason, respect must be given not only to borders, but also to the right of nations to self-determination, which is the right of every nation.

"We reject with indignation the national illiberality gaining ground; nationalist outbursts of rage which have no basis and which are the determining forces of a democratic government policy. It is particularly painful that we experience these at a time when the radical changes which have happened in our region at last carry the promise of a joint, democratic future. It is a great truth that no nation can be free while it denies freedom to those it oppresses. But in the same way it is also true that not even one oppressed people can be really free at the side of any oppressing power. For this reason we have confidence and are in solidarity with the purifying humanist endeavours, turning against the old unscrupulousness, the old mentalities. We trust that in the wake of redrawing Europe's map of political systems, nationalities can reach a resting point in every country, attaining the haven of a possible equal assertion, free from the storms of living side by side—even in the most [word indistinct] most sensitive regions. Freedom is the only certain foundation stone of peace."

Szuros says that soberness and wisdom is most needed to differentiate between what is significant and what is not. Very great things are happening, and we can only suspect what the 21st century will bring. The moral responsibility of the country's leaders cannot waver. Only thus can we attain the status of European citizenship, Szuros stresses.

1848 Revolution Commemorated in Speeches

LD1503224190 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—The Hungarian revolution and freedom fight of 1848-49 was commemorated throughout the country on Thursday. The diversity of the festive events, the multitude of the political parties addressing these reflects the awakening of Hungarian democracy, the pluralism of political life.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth delivered a speech in Monok, the birthplace of Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the 1848 revolution. He stressed that Hungary progresses in the frontline of the democratic transformation taking place in the Central-Eastern European region, and the world powers follow its efforts with sympathy. There is no internal force that is capable of stopping transformation. The prime minister called for cooperation in the interest of utilizing the exceptional historical opportunity.

At the commemoration ceremony of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in Budapest, party president Gyula Thurmer said "there is no better political system than the one in which the people, the workers govern democratically and no one can monopolize truth."

The Hungarian Socialist Party held its ceremony in the garden of the National Museum, which was the venue of the official, "central" commemorations in the previous years. The speaker, Imre Pozsgay, stressed that what is needed now is for the current silent revolution to progress towards national reconciliation.

The Petofi statue in central Budapest has been the traditional venue of commemorations by the opposition. The ceremony was held by the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD], the Entrepreneurs' Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [SPDH], and the Federation of Young Democrats [FYD]. Prior to speeches by the four parties, Gyorgy Krasso, leader of the Hungarian October Party, called on the people to boycott the voting as elections are not genuinely free. The crowd reacted with boos and whistling. On behalf of the AFD, Imre Mecs recalled the earlier struggles of the democratic opposition. Imre Olah of the Entrepreneurs' Party stressed that Hungarians can be proud when facing the world, as the change in system is progressing in a calm manner. Anna Petrasovits, president of the SDPH, termed it urgent that the "feudal-communist counties" [as received] be replaced with European public administration, as this is the only way to make democratic transformation irreversible. Viktor Orban of the FYD stressed that young democracy cannot be created without young democrats.

In the following, on the appeal of the Alliance of Free Democrats, the crowd marched to the headquarters of Hungarian Television, and demonstrated for freedom of the press. The reason for this was that, contrary to preliminary plans, Hungarian Television did not broadcast the festive events from any venue, based on the decision by the curatory supervising Hungarian Television. The speaker here was Gaspar Miklos Tamas. He criticized the television as it suggests that democracy is nothing else than selfish small groups quarreling over the soils.

Progressing along the traditional route of the March 15 protests of the democratic opposition, the participants then arrived at the Battyany eternal flame, in a square near the television building. The speaker, Gabor Demszky, called for the Soviet Government, which earlier condemned the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, to rehabilitate the Hungarian events of 1956 as well.

The next stop of the march was in Bem Square. Here the AFD and the FYD groups separated from the crowd because—as their representative said—they are not willing to celebrate under the banners of the Democratic Youth Federation, the Agrarian Federation, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society. Members of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF] also attended the commemoration in a separate group.

Andras Szabo, vice-president of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation of Transylvania, forwarded the greetings of the Romanian young people, then stressed that efforts should be made to create democracies in Central Europe in which no one need be afraid.

Speakers of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Independent Smallholders party, the Patriotic Electoral Coalition and the Hungarian People's Party addressed the participants in Lajos Kossuth Square, in front of Parliament Building in Budapest. Jozsef Antall, president of the HDF, stressed the HDF considers March 15 as the universal great holiday of the nation, which cannot serve party interests even amidst the election fight. In the following, author Sandor Csoori, member of the HDF presidium, said that the world outlook and economic war that has been going on since the Second World War is now coming to an end, as the financial sources of one of the sides involved have become exhausted. Just like after every war, new "peace treaties" will come about now, as well. As compared to the Paris agreement of 1947, these can irrevocably state: Hungary will finally become an independent country.

On behalf of the Independent Smallholders' Party, party President Vince Voros and party attorney Jozsef Torgyan addressed the crowd. Torgyan called on the opposition parties to progress together on the road of realizing freedom and prosperity.

Istvan Mikola, who was speaking on behalf of the Patriotic Electoral Coalition, was booed during his speech, and thus had to shorten his address.

Laszlo Dobos, an ethnic Hungarian author from Czechoslovakia, also addressed the commemoration. He said that overthrowing the tyrant is the common experience of the peoples of Central-Eastern Europe. The acquired freedom is the common wealth and right of the peoples, nations and minorities, he said.

The series of commemorations in Budapest came to an end in the evening with a torchlight march to the memorial sites of the 1848 revolution.

MSZMP Chairman Offers Cooperation to MSZP

LD1503175190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] rally commenced at 1700 [1600 GMT] in Ferencvaros, in Budapest. Jozsef Orosz reports:

[Orosz] The MSZMP would willingly cooperate with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. Party Chairman Gyula Thurmer made this declaration after having welcomed Rezso Nyers' stance distancing himself and the Socialist Party from Miklos Nemeth's declaration regarding the alleged November putsch.

At the Ferencvaros workers' meeting, Gyula Thurmer warned the audience about the restoration of capitalism, and said that after the change of a system, nothing good awaits the workers. The party chairman, as he was walking along Ulloi Street toward the meeting at Vagohid Street, was thinking that only a workers' party is capable protecting the workers. He particularly emphasized the importance of the police, and recalled the pre-World War [II] gendarmerie, for as he said, all the gendarme had to do was furrow his brow and the whole village backed away. The Nemeth government, said Gyula Thurmer, has managed to consciously break apart the police and defense.

10,000 Demonstrators Demand Free Press

LD1503172490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Ten thousand people gathered in front of television headquarters, demanding a free press. Peter Szorenyi's roundup follows:

[Szorenyi] There is no free press now in our country, Miklos Tamas-Gaspar said in introducing his speech on the square in front of television headquarters. As he said, it will be up to the next government to create this. I am speaking about this now, on the anniversary, he continued, because one of the reasons why the 1848 revolution broke out was that the press was not free. The Alliance of Free Democrats otherwise expects that after the elections the journalists—I quote the orator—will whet their sharp and sarcastic tongues on everyone, and so on the Free Democrats, thereby demonstrating that what his party needs after 25 March is not power, but freedom. In conclusion he stated: Up to now the Hungarian people have often been deceived, but after the changes no one will have the opportunity to do this any more.

Then, the 10,000 people, who were mostly Free Democrats, went to the memorial the opposition calls the Batthyany-Imre Nagy eternal flame, where they laid wreaths.

MSZDP Official Warns Against MSZP Aims

LD1603100790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Summary] Otto Angyall, the provincial vice chairman of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP], speaking at an election rally in the Kispest Workers' Home in Budapest, has said that the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] wants to appropriate the century-old heritage and spirit of social democracy. The MSZP people are "red foxes" and just because a fox is painted red does not mean he won't eat the chicken.

He lamented the media's discrimination against the MSZDP which, in his view, "is under the dictatorship of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], and MSZP".

Meanwhile, Gyorgy Ruttner, National Assembly deputy and candidate of the Independent Social Democratic Party [FSZDP], which split from the MSZDP, has filed suit against MSZDP leaders Anna Petrasovits and Gyorgy Fisher for libel because they harmed his election chances.

Free Democrats' Leader Addresses Budapest Rally

LD1503164190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] We again connect with a Budapest location, the 15 March Square in Pest. Peter Szorenyi reports:

[Szorenyi] At this moment, a crowd several tens of thousands strong, at the Petrofi statue, which came here to remember the 15 Marches of the distant and recent past, is listening to a speech by Imre Mecs [council member of the Alliance of Free Democrats].

At the demonstration, staged by 11 large opposition parties, Imre Mecs said that what is important for the people is that they must be able to free themselves. Well, according to the orator, this has succeeded now. The state-party has fallen, and the master of the region, the Soviet Union, is also trembling. He then hailed free Lithuania.

In conclusion he vowed that his organization will urge the soonest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops. True, he added, this will have to be implemented so that the Russian people do not regard the pullout as a defeat. By the way, a few minutes ago he said that in his view there is no free press in Hungary, and for this reason he called on the Free Democrats to go in procession to the television headquarters at 1330.

Imre Mecs is speaking now. Later, speeches will be made here at the Petofi statue at the foot of Elizabeth Bridge, by Imre Olah, on behalf of the Entrepreneurs' Party, by Viktor Orban, on behalf of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], and finally by Anna Petrasovits on behalf of the Social Democrats.

MNP Calls for Equal Publicity Opportunities

LD1503145590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Summary] At a press conference given by the Hungarian People's Party [MNP] one of the main topics was the provision of equal chances in the electoral campaign. The MNP complained that the Electoral Committee does not allow the smaller parties to jointly present the regional lists.

"The party would be willing to present a joint list with either the Independent Social Democratic Party or the National Smallholders Bourgeois Party," he said.

The MNP believes political parties should make public the sources of the financial support they are receving. "According to Gyula Fekete, there is a 50-100 percent difference between certain parties. They do have accurate information on this," the party chairman said.

Coalition, TU Group Hold Election Meetings

LD1503181190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The Patriotic Election Coalition rejects the accusation that it serves the salvaging of the communists. At their election rally in (?Vacrakut), they accused the parties striving for power of Bolshevist methods, namely that they do not tolerate criticism and indulge in irresponsible actions.

The national Association of Hungarian Trade Unions still does not wish to operate as a party, but it considers it necessary that employees' interests should appear directly in legislation. This is why the association is supporting numerous independent election candidates. Deputy Chairman Laszlo Sandor said at a meeting of independent candidates in Tatabanya that it is impossible that workers should bear the whole burden of the social and economic transformation.

Horn Addresses Students on Issues of Magyarhood

LD1503202990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Gyula Horn said at an international student conference in Torokbalint that new international agreements probably will not express the interests of Magyarhood.

The politician said this in connection with German reunification, which most probably will take place soon. However, Magyarhood will hardly have an opportunity to receive justice because changes in the solemn peace treaties following World Wars I and II would not be supported by anybody in Europe today.

According to Gyula Horn, Hungary's neutrality is conceivable, but only if it is guaranteed from several sides.

Austria-Romania Visa Suspension Affects Entries

LD1503234490 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—The Austrian Embassy in Budapest has informed MTI:

The visa agreement between the Republic of Austria and Romania was partly suspended, for an undetermined period, with effect from 00.00 hours on March 15, 1990. Therefore, Romanian citizens can enter Austria only with valid visas. For the time being, visas are issued only for official and business trips, and in other justified cases.

On Wednesday evening, a crowd of Romanian citizens flooded the Hungarian-Austrian border crossing stations at Hegyeshalom and Nickelsdorf, to cross into Austria before the deadline of the measure. Many persons who were allowed through at Hegyeshalom, as their documents were in order from the Hungarian side, but who were unable to enter at Nickelsdorf, are obstructing tourist traffic as they do not wish to return to Hungary.

The Austrian frontier guard has reinforced the control of the 'green border', as they expect that many of the Romanian citizens sent back from the border will try to enter Austria illegally.

The Hungarian frontier guard has also stepped up the control of persons arriving from Romania, in the interest of normalizing the situation and on request from the Austrian side. Romanian citizens who would certainly be turned back by the Austrian side are not permitted to continue on from Hungary.

Applications To Immigrate to S. Africa Increase

MB1003050590 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2231 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Johannesburg March 9 SAPA—More than 8000 Hungarian and Romanian citizens have applied during the past week to emigrate to South Africa, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] TV news reports.

The sudden increase was apparently initiated by an article in the Hungarian daily 'WEST', which described South Africa in a positive light.

Restrictive economic conditions in Hungary and Romania were the reasons many people wanted to emigrate, according to people queuing at South Africa's Vienna Embassy.

People also apparently noted they did not want to live longer under a communist regime.

More Than 15,000 Apply in Vienna

AU1403131290 Paris AFP in English 1215 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Vienna, March 14 (AFP)—More than 15,000 Hungarians have applied at the South African Embassy here for immigration papers, an embassy spokesman said Wednesday [14 March]. About 2,000 a day were making the trip to the Austrian capital. The spokesman said only about 10 per cent had a chance of being accepted, such as engineers, physicists, chemists and other highly qualified people.

The first inquiries came in January when Pretoria's Foreign Minister Pik Botha visited Budapest, the first South African minister to go to a Warsaw Pact country. By the end of February 1,500 Hungarians and 3,500 refugees from other Eastern bloc states had applied. The numbers soared a week ago when a Hungarian magazine reported that South Africa would meet 80 per cent of transport costs for immigrants and give substantial help to settle.

Kuwaiti Oil Minister Ends Official Visit

LD1603091390 Budapest MTI in English 1631 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—'Ali al-Khalifa al-Sabah, minister of oil and industry of Kuwait, paid an official visit to Hungary from March 12 to 25.

The minister held talks with his host, Minister of Trade Tamas Beck, and with Imre Szabo, secretary of state for industry, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, about cooperation possibilities in the development of Hungarian oil processing industry and the filling station network.

The Kuwait minister met Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. He held talks with the president of the National Bank of Hungary, and with leaders of several commercial banks, and representatives of the 12 political parties that have put up national lists.

The Kuwaiti minister left Hungary on Thursday.

Thai Foreign Minister Leaves Budapest

LD1503171290 Budapest MTI in English 1620 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—Sitthi Sawetsila, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, and his party left Budapest on Thursday. The Thai foreign minister paid a two-day official visit to Hungary.

Trade Expansion Planned

BK1603011590 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 16 Mar 90 p 2

[Excerpts] Hungary will be a centre for expansion of Thai trade in Europe, particularly the former communist bloc.

During an official visit to Eastern Europe by Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila, who is due home today, Thailand and Hungary agreed to establish ways for this to be implemented.

Both countries also agreed to Thailand being a centre for trade expansion into ASEAN and Indochina.

Thailand will benefit from such arrangements, especially after Hungary joins the European Community and the situation in Eastern Europe stabilises. [passage omitted]

Talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn also emphasised Hungary had moved towards a multi-party system with 58 registered political parties, of which 42 will run in upcoming elections on March 25 and April 8. Changes which had occurred in the country are irreversible.

Both countries have agreed to sign, as soon as possible, a trade and investment protection agreement.

During talks with Commerce Minister Tamas Beck, who expressed a wish for trade with countries outside COMECON [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance], ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Sitthi said Thailand is studying cooperation in textiles, tourism and port equipment.

Jaruzelski Congratulates Gorbachev on Election

*LD1503162690 Warsaw PAP in English
1540 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a congratulatory cable to Mikhail Gorbachev today on the occasion of his election to the office of the USSR president. Excerpts:

I am convinced that your election to this post of eminence and great responsibility will meet with very warm response in Poland. We follow with keen interest and sincere sympathy the process of comprehensive political, social and economic perstroyka in the Soviet Union and the rapid pace of its peaceful foreign policy.

The process of reforms forms favourable premises for strengthening all values that link us and for final freeing our relations from the tragic legacy of the past times still hovering over them.

Your election for the president of the USSR will be conducive to further rapproachment between our states and to sincere authentic friendship between the nations of Poland and the Soviet Union.

The developments in Europe confirm again the importance of and need for the Polish-Soviet cooperation on the international arena. It acquires particular significance in the process of modelling a new shape of our continent, forming an efficient system of security based on the strategic balance of power and assurances of peaceful existence for European nations.

We appreciate very much the firm support of the Soviet Union and yours personally for the vital interests of Poland, the inviolability of our borders including, President Jaruzelski Wrote.

Walesa Sends Cable

*LD1503172190 Warsaw PAP in English
1605 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Gdandsk, March 15—Lech Walesa today sent a cable to Mikhail Gorbachev in connection with electing him Soviet president:

Mr. President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Please accept best congratulations on the occasion of electing you to the honourable and responsible post of the Soviet president.

I trust that this fact will contribute to further progress of reforms followed by Polish society for years with understandable interest.

I view the eleciton of you as an expression of confidence of societies of Soviet republics in a policy of perestroyka started by you. One of the fundamental principles of which is respect for the ability to make decisions and national aspirations of every ethnic group living in the USSR.

Mazowiecki Cables Congratulations

*LD1603000890 Warsaw PAP in English
1930 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's congratulatory cable to Mikhail Gorbachev to mark his election as Soviet president reads:

I wish you further achievements in solving difficult problems of your country to the benefit of all its citizens.

You have the right to personal satisfaction at all that you have already accomplished to restructure the USSR and to improve relations between states and nations.

Skubiszewski on Participation in German Talks

*LD1503163990 Warsaw PAP in English
1543 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Polish foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski termed a decision by the four powers and the GDR and the FRG to invite Poland to take part in the talks on the border aspect of the unification of Germany a "generally favourable news."

The form of this participation requires specification, all the more so as Poland has already exchanged some views and suggestions to this effect particularly in Paris, Minister Skubiszewski said in his statement for the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA today.

Primarily a treaty on the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border with the rank and the result of a peace settlement lies in the sphere of our interest. Peace settlement is a concept used in the existing international agreements on Germany and we mean a definitive treaty on the border.

However, the question of a treaty does not exhaust the security of Poland as a neighbour of Germany that is to be united in the future. The entire question of Germany's political and military postiion remains. Questions of the stationing of foreign troops, that is, issues that will concern Poland's security and its vital interests, will certainly appear.

Therefore, we can take interest not only in the question of the border during this conference, although this quesiton is of primary importance, Minister Skubiszewski said.

Spokeswoman on Participation in German Conference

*LD1503200990 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Yesterday's decision by experts from the Four Powers and the two German states about Poland's participation in the two-plus-four negotiations has evoked wide response. Here is government spokeswoman Niezabitowska:

[Niezabitowska] I think this is a great success, a success for all of us, the Poles. When, during his visit to London, immediately upon receiving the news from Ottawa of the decision to convene the two-plus-four conference, Premier Mazowiecki demanded participation for Poland in the conference for the part concerning us, when he said nothing about us without us, many people considered it an unrealistic demand. And indeed it was not easy to implement; but we have succeeded. This was mainly due to a real diplomatic offensive by our government, but also to the resolute support for this government from the Episcopate, from parliament, from the president, in effect from all political forces, and of course from the public.

I consider that yesterday we had the true end of Yalta, that is, of some states deciding for others, which are weaker or in a poor condition at the time, for smaller states, and doing this over their heads. I hope this will create a good precedent and from now on every state will be able to speak with its own voice and co-participate when its future is being decided.

While we are pleased with our participation in this conference, we are nonetheless not forgetting that Poland also still demands that the issue of the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border be regulated by treaty before Germany's unification. As a participant in the conference it will of course be much easier for Poland to bring about the creation of that kind of treaty.

Commentary Notes French Support for Poland

AU1403105690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10-11 Mar 90 p 1

[Seweryn Blumsztajn commentary: "French Support"]

[Text] The statement made by the French president does not define the exact form that Polish participation in the talks of the six should take. It is obvious that it is far too early for technical details of this type. In any case, no other power that will take its seat at the table with the Germans, in order to negotiate the conditions of German reunification, has expressed its support for Polish demands in such an emphatic way.

The Polish success at the Paris meeting has surprised many French commentators. It was widely regarded that after the last declaration made by the Bundestag, the matter of Poland's western border had been laid to rest, and that the upcoming meeting of the leaders of Poland and France—intended as an exercise in exerting pressure on Germany—would only have symbolic importance. However, the position the French have taken enables Poland to once again renew its efforts to secure a place at the negotiating table, at which the future of Europe will be discussed.

Both sides were at pains not to give the impression of a new kind of pact that is aimed at Germany. President Mitterrand recalled the friendship and the cooperation that unites France with Germany. Jaruzelski and Mazowiecki talked of the right of the Germans to reunite, and they both stressed that the dispute is not really about the Polish border, but, above all, about the principles of coexistence that will prevail between the countries of a united Europe.

Nonetheless, observing the Paris meeting, one had the impression that with the collapse of the Yalta system, Europe was returning to its centuries-old rules of diplomacy. At the beginning of the interview he gave for LE MONDE, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "It is a historical principle that, in the face of a growing German problem, France and Poland always want to be closer to each other."

Democratic Left Caucus Leader on German Issue

LD1403204590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] With reference to statements about a possible German hegemony, here is what Professor Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the parliamentary floor group of the Democratic Left, said in Koszalin today.

[Begin Orzechowski recording] We have to keep our eyes open with respect to Germany, to the things that are happening on German territory. First and foremost, we have to build good alliances. Poland is too weak, compared with Germany, to be able to stand up for itself, and that is why it has to seek good alliances. These alliances, above all, are the Soviet Union and the West European countries that are also not interested in German hegemony in the united Europe.

I used to get my face slapped by Hitler youth during the occupation. I have reasons for sentiments and resentments against Germany, but I know one thing, that policy cannot be built on resentments, on hatred, and on emotions. Policy has to be built on hard facts. If you cannot oppose something, you have to make it so that you get the greatest possible benefits from it. If we cannot oppose Germany's unification, we have to seek steps in our policy that would minimize the dangers resulting from this for Poland. [end recording]

Walesa Discusses Czech, National Developments

AU1503095090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Mar p 6

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Barbara Pilousova; place and date not given: "Different Ways Leading to the Same Destination"—opening paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] In 1980, when Lech Walesa was fired from the V.I. Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, he climbed over the fence and took the lead of his fellow workers' movement against the violence and social and economic oppression by Communist bosses. He was the first to hit the table with his fist and say: Enough is enough, listen to us now—the workers are speaking. Later, martial law was imposed and those who were "chosen by God" turned him, for eight years, into an enemy of the Polish people and a traitor to Western imperialist intelligence services.

They did not succeed. On the contrary. He, a trained electrician, returned with glory—again as Solidarity chairman and one of the most influential people on the domestic political scene, while they disappeared into the trap-door of history. This time for keeps, as it seems....

[Pilousova] During the so-called "Prague Fall," your telegram was read at one of the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square. What were your feelings and hopes during the velvet revolution?

[Walesa] The year 1968 and the tragic events in which Polish soldiers also took part within the framework of the intervention came to my mind. And, of course, fear for the people—whether they will be able to brush off the trauma of 21 August and to embark on the road toward reforms.

[Pilousova] They did it. What is your opinion, Mr. Chairman, of the current political situation in Czechoslovakia and of Mr. Havel's election as president?

[Walesa] I would put it this way: Your ship, Czechoslovakia, already has its captain. Now, the question is whether the crew under his command will be able to follow him in the right direction. Do you already have the maps, a program, all you need to determine the new direction?

[Pilousova] What are you afraid of?

[Walesa] You know, the captain cannot do much himself. He needs an efficient and well-trained crew, acting in concert. I am confident that Czechs and Slovaks will know what to do and that they will do their best to reach their destination.

[Pilousova] Mr. Chairman, the reasons why you did not meet President Havel during his January visit to Warsaw are still being discussed....

[Walesa, interrupting] Of course, here and there I can hear things about which I do not have the faintest idea. Had I foreseen this, I would have undoubtedly organized my affairs in Gdansk in a different way and would have come to Warsaw. A mistake occurred and this mistake gave rise to various speculations. But I do not understand why! After all, the president dealt with people who are my friends, who think the same way I do, which is why my presence was, in principle, unnecessary.

[Pilousova] However, conjectures have originated therefrom about your resentment of President Havel or about your being jealous, since the West is paying more attention to Czechoslovakia than to Poland....

[Walesa, interrupting] I believe that we have more serious problems to solve. And, besides, I am going to tell it straight, without being ashamed—that is my nature—we are ahead of Czechoslovakia in many respects. Of course, as for the president, you are leading in this point, but we are ahead as far as the preparation of reforms and the provisions for them as far as the cadre are concerned. We also have more experience. But this is not the way we should approach the problem. Such an approach is of no use. We should rather concentrate on a sound competition. When we were persecuted we stuck together. Let us try now, in better times, to continue to stick together and to support one another.

[Pilousova] It is already known that in a short time you are to meet President Havel on Snezka mountain. What will you discuss and who gave the impetus for this meeting?

[Walesa] The impetus came from the people of the former Czech opposition. I believe that, in view of all those speculations, it is necessary to establish personal contact as soon as possible. The date is being discussed, so we will have no problems here. And what about the program? I like Havel's thesis: We have won freedom and that is why we are not going to obstruct one another on our return to Europe, but will rather help each other....

[Pilousova] The Soviet Union, as well as East Europe, are undergoing significant changes. What is your opinion of those changes?

[Walesa] You know, this question cannot be treated as one. The Soviet Union resembles a truck whereas we could be likened to a Skoda or a small Fiat car. A truck drives into the turns in a different way from small cars, even if they drive on the same road. We cannot run away from the reforms. There is no other alternative: all of us must go this way if we want to return to Europe. By the way, it is not important what Walesa, or Gorbachev, or Havel want. We are a product of our times and the times literally compel changes. Names and individuals mean nothing. If not us, then someone else will come. You cannot cheat society. The time is ripe and the world is coming together. We have supermodern computers, satellite television, we can send information with the speed of light, compare results, and amend entire doctrines....

[Pilousova] Mr. Chairman, you contend that we have to cooperate. On which basis should this cooperation take place?

[Walesa] Above all, it is necessary to talk at various levels, from the presidential and ministerial levels down to the level of ordinary citizens. Both in your and in my country the people want to live better. We must therefore attend to the equalization of economic levels. If we succeed here then all the problems will be much easier to solve.

[Pilousova] Do you believe that we will catch up with the West?

[Walesa] We have no other choice. Our current systems proved to be unreformable. We need the help of others to embark on the right road, however. Czechs and Poles on their own cannot do it; we will not be able to open ourselves up without Europe and the world. The more we open ourselves up the better. Every tried-and-tested economic model is good.

[Pilousova] Mr. Chairman, Poland has started its radical reforms by implementing the so-called Balcerowicz plan, named after your deputy premier. How do you evaluate its results so far?

[Walesa] I have rather big reservations so far. It is true that we have eliminated the old system that was curbing us, but an economic collapse has come about. The situation looks much worse than it did before. But I am confident that the situation will improve. I support the Balcerowicz program, of course, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government as well. It is our government. I believe, however, that there are other alternatives, and am pushing for them to be tried out.

[Pilousova] Some differences can be observed between the government and Solidarity. This causes disorientation in society....

[Walesa] Do not be surprised—a tangible effect is missing. People have the impression that the situation was better during communist rule; the revolution is losing its charm; it looks as if the revolution has gone in the wrong direction. The previous revolution took from the minority and gave to the needy while we had nothing to give. We are looking for owners to fill empty shops, and with the help of the brightest economists, are looking for ways of filling them with merchandise. Moreover, we are quarreling, which causes chaos; society is watching us and does not know who is right. It finds some matters difficult to understand. For instance, unemployment, liquidation of inefficient enterprises, the need to work much harder and to be more disciplined. Those are unpopular things, and people are even starting to blame me. By the way, you will get to know all of this in Czechoslovakia, too. For the time being you have some reserves to use, you are operating from inertia...

[Pilousova] What about Soviet troop withdrawal from Poland?

[Walesa] I will do everything to bring about the withdrawal of the troops. It is quite an expensive luxury in times of nuclear threat and we also do not feel comfortable in their presence. As far as the participation of Poland in the talks on the unification of Germany and guarantees for our borders are concerned, however, I definitely support the government. The Soviet Union, as our ally and partner, should accept our demands. If not, then the Warsaw Pact is good for nothing.

[Pilousova] Let us return to the subject of Czechoslovakia once again. What is your opinion on the Civic Forum, which is being compared to Solidarity?

[Walesa] I would put it this way: The same destination can be reached in various ways. You take a different road to Rome from Prague than you do from Warsaw. Civic Forum is your specific road, Solidarity is ours. We are heading together toward democracy, plurality, and a better life. I would like to add that we have also fought alongside. By the way, I was put behind bars several times on occasion of the August [1968] anniversaries, for writing slogans in protest against the Warsaw Pact invasion....

[Pilousova] At President Havel's invitation, the Pope will visit Czechoslovakia in April. What is your comment?

[Walesa] I am very happy. The Holy Father is a great moral authority and his contribution to a better world means a lot.

Solidarity Paper Applauds Walesa's USSR Visit

PM1403155590 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 26 Jan 90 p 1

[Editorial report: "On the Eve of the Breakthrough"]

[Text] Beginning in August 1980, the Polish people began gradually to reclaim their freedom. However, as a state we still remained subordinated to Soviet imperial domination. The Polish Communists stood guard over that subordination, and it was exclusively for them that all contacts with the hegemonic leader were reserved.

The unyielding will of the public, the prudent selflessness of Solidarity, and the leadership of Lech Walesa, on the one hand, and the restructuring of the USSR, on the other, have all combined to enable us today to make a breakthrough in relations between our states and our peoples.

The invitation extended to the Polish leader to pay a visit to the USSR is a significant expression of this change.

We welcome this invitation with genuine gladness. To be honest, we waited a long time while we assessed, in step with the passage of time, the opportunities opening up for perestroyka, for democracy in the Soviet Union, for secure guarantees of the Polish and Central European changes, and for the construction of a common European home.

We welcome this decision with joy and hope, which are even greater now because for the first time in more than 200 years there now appears to be a real possibility for establishing genuine good-neighborly relations between Poland and Russia.

Lech Walesa said that these should begin with an open admission by the USSR to having participated with Nazi Germany in the fourth partition of Poland, to having committed monstrous atrocities against its citizens, and to having forcibly imposed a totalitarian system in a captive country.

Conscious of his responsibility for Poland's future, Walesa rejects an illusory normalization. He demands a bold and honest appraisal of the past for the sake of establishing an amicable future.

The Editors

Balcerowicz 'Moderately Optimistic' on Economy

LD1503135190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Today Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz visited the spring trade fair in Poznan. He met representatives of trade and industry there. Anna Andrzejewska took the opportunity offered by the deputy premier's flight to Poznan to interview him.

[Begin recording] [Andrzejewska] Premier, could you tell us whether you are happy with your plan so far?

[Balcerowicz] I think that there are reasons to be moderately optimistic. The inflation is showing a very clear fall and I think that soon we will reach a state close to or coincident with price stabilization. The hard currency market is operating faultlessly, without any need for intervention. As we all know, there are symptoms of transition to the world of a different economy, an economy where lines disappear and the consumer is able to choose.

I know, of course, that all this occurs with great monetary restrictions, but without these restrictions it would not have been possible to bring in changes of this kind. We had expected a fall in production, but the magnitude of this fall to some extent exceeds what we had planned for. The fall in production results from fairly passive behavior by the manufacturers, who used the early weeks of January and February to raise prices significantly. In normal conditions they could have done this without running any risks, were it not for these sharp monetary restrictions. In the end, it turns out that with such great price rises, manufacturers in general are not able to sell what they manufacture.

[Andrzejewska] Everyone is now waiting for Mr. Balcerowicz's next step. What happens now? We eat less, we buy less, we have less money, inflation has gone down, what next?

[Balcerowicz] (?For the time being) we must gradually move to a stage where factors that gradually increase production, but not inflation, start to operate. The point is not to lose that which we have gained at such great cost, these things I have mentioned, and at the same time to gradually build the (?strength of these factors) that will stimulate production in a non-inflationary way.

[Andrzejewska] Has Balcerowicz not made any mistakes whatsoever?

[Balcerowicz] No one is guaranteed against mistakes, that is obvious. The high inflation that this government inherited makes rational management impossible and makes it impossible to make decisions, and this applies to every sector, including agriculture. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Views Army Changes, PZPR Property

LD1603073290 Warsaw PAP in English 1655 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—A meeting of senior chairmen of the committees of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (OKP) with the participation of premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, head of the office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak and head of the team of the premier's economic advisers Waldemar Kuczynski was held here today.

Participants in the first part of the meeting discussed problems of changes introduced in the Army. They deemed that the seeking of proper solutions would be fostered by discussion with the participation of the national Defence Ministry's authorities and representatives of parliament.

The OKP representatives voiced their dissatisfaction at the pace and procedure of work of the government commission on the property of the former Polish United Workers Party and the absence of a solution to the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch worker publishing cooperative that continually is an actual monopolist in the publication, printing and distribution of the press.

The debates decided that a meeting of senior chairmen of the OKP committee should be held in the coming future to discuss the situation in agriculture that arouses social tensions.

New KPN Weekly OPINIA Published

AU0803144090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "OPINIA—KPN Weekly"]

[Text] The first issue of OPINIA [OPINION], the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] weekly, has appeared. The opening item is an editorial by Leszek Moczulski called "The Polish United Workers Party Has Gone, But Its Soul Lives On." Editor in chief Krzysztof Krol, in an article called "Have We Regained Independence?", asks whether we have done so. Apart from that, the journal contains many other interesting articles. It has a circulation of 22,500, and costs 1,200 zlotys.

Censor's Office Faces Uncertain Future

AU0903102290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Mar 90 p 3

[Andrzej Miklaszewicz article: "A State of Limbo on Mysia Street"]

[Excerpts] Only the security guards remain unmoved. What difference does it make who finally makes use of the building; there will always be a job for security personnel, they say. At the most, they will have to give up their weapons and transform themselves into porters.

"Outsiders" have already made an appearance in the building. They wander about the corridors and through the 100 or so rooms. It would be quite nice to secure several of these rooms for offices, they must think. However, nobody knows who will get the offices of the Main Office of the Control of the Press, Publishing, and Public Performances, in Mysia Street. The building belongs to the Office of the Council of Ministers and the decision will be made there.

Nobody can say how long the censor's office will survive. Its abolition has been on the agenda since last December. The Sejm is still debating a framework for our future freedom of expression. Will it be along the lines suggested by the government, which has proposed that certain tasks performed by the censor, including the right to refuse publication—"if it is suspected of infringing of the legislation on the press and publishing"—should be taken over by the prosecutor's office? Or should Adam Michnik's suggestion to abandon the principle of censorship and see how things work out be adopted?

The government, to be on the safe side, proposed a figure of 4.9 billion zlotys in its current budget to maintain the censor's office. However, the Sejm deputies rejected the proposal and the censor's office is currently funded from the government's provisional fund.

This arrangement will probably last until the end of March, but it seems likely that even after the new legislation on the press and the abolition of censorship is finally passed, the censor's office will be given another month to quietly wind up its affairs. Thus, it looks as if the censor's office will still be around until the end of April.

No doubt before that deadline runs out, the censor's office will finalize the matter that has already been hailed as the last matter to be dealt with by the official censor. This concerns a book by Jozef Kaminski, entitled "The Nightmare of Imprisonment." The distribution of the book was suspended by the censor in January. A month later, the Supreme Administrative Court squashed the censor's decision.

The censor's office has not yet received the full transcript of the court's judgment, but Justyn Sobol, director of information at the censor's office, maintains that the judgment is not as unequivocal as it may appear to some. It is still very likely that the book will have to be censored in some respects. Sobol refers to a RZECZPOSPOLITA item that alleges that the Supreme Administrative Court also had reservations about some of the book's content.

The first print run of the book will return to Mysia Street and, "according to the prevailing law," will be reviewed. The censor's office will carry out its duty regardless of the fact that a day later its activities may already be superfluous.

This may be a gesture of the department's self-respect, or it may be a premonition that the press and the publishing industry needs censorship after all, just like it needs paper and ink. [passage omitted]

The political changes in the country mean that even today the censor's sphere of action is being substantially circumscribed. Last May, the provision forbidding the distribution of things that "constituted an obvious offense"—a provision that over the years has accounted for over 50 percent of all cases of intervention by the censor—was repealed. Since last September there has been a disappearance of all the provisions based on the defense of the existing constitutional system. The constitutional system is changing and nobody really knows what its final form will be. The "Autumn of the Peoples" has swept away the need for the provisions on mutual foreign policy, and the amendments to the Constitution swept away all the principles that had hitherto shaped this policy, without at the same time introducing any new ones.

In practical terms, and in its remaining days, the censor's office has been left with the sole task of protecting the principle of the national secret, be it state, economic, military, or administrative secret. Also it still prevents the distribution of "content which may undermine the accepted morals and customs." The number of times that the censor's office has had to intervene in this particular field is on the increase, and in 1989, there were twice as many instances of this type of intervention as in 1988. This does not just apply to the press, but more often to various published materials and calendars that are clearly tending toward the pornographic. [passage omitted]

In January 1990, 102 titles of new publications were registered with the censor's office, among these, were the periodical KLUCZ [Key], registered by the firm "Erotic Services," SEX, registered by the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic, a weekly (no title given) registered in the name of Henryk Stoklosa, the weekly GAZETA WIEJSKA [Rural Gazette], registered in the name of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, and GAZETA WYBORCZA INTERNATIONAL, a weekly digest of GAZETA WYBORCZA, intended for the foreign market. [passage omitted]

Publishing Giant Ready To Apportion Property

AU1503102690 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Mar 90 p 3

['I'-signed report: "RSW Declares Readiness"]

[Text] We are ready to begin talks with the representatives of the government commission, stated the RSW [Workers Publishing Cooperative] spokesman. We have now assembled the necessary materials that will provide the answers to the questions that we have received from some representatives of the government commission. These documents show the total picture of property that is legally owned by the RSW.

On being asked about the position of the Supervisory Council and the Management Board of the RSW, he replied: It is based on the stance adopted by the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP]. This party is the lawful successor to the majority shareholding in the RSW cooperative. The SDRP's Supreme Council, in its 12 February statement, has clearly declared "a desire to build a modern publishing enterprise based on principles that are untainted by monopolistic and outdated practices." I would like to remind everybody that the statement also contained concrete proposals for handing over various parts of the RSW property portfolio to the state.

These are the proposals:

—To apportion RSW's distribution division, to hand over to the state a substantial proportion of the enterprises that are active in this sphere, and to present detailed proposals to the government commission;
—To apportion RSW's group of local and regional dailies and periodicals and, after the local elections, to hand these over at no cost to the government plenipotentiary for local self-government, as RSW's contribution to the establishment and the development of local government press;
—To apportion, subject to employee consent, RSW's printing division, and to transform the relevant enterprises into joint-stock companies with state, employee, RSW, and other party participation.

Social Democratic Party Foreign Policy Position

*AU1503123690 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
12 Mar 90 p 6*

[Unattributed report: "Position on International Affairs" of the Supreme Council of the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic]

[Text] During the postwar decades, the Polish left wing has been able to guarantee the nation's life within secure borders. This gives the left wing the moral right to speak out whenever Poland's interests are threatened.

Today, the most important matters are secure and permanent borders and political and economic sovereignty. In this situation, the permanent and strategic nature of the Polish-Soviet alliance, now based on a complete equality between the two sides, is confirmed.

The changes taking place in the two German states convince us once again that in foreign policy, interests come before vain hopes. One can see this after several months of an unsuccessful policy of rapprochement with the FRG. Therefore, we state that in a Europe divided into military blocs, neither an extension of the NATO sphere to the Polish border, nor a relinquishing of the guarantees stemming from membership in the Warsaw Pact, are acceptable. Hence the need to possess a strong Polish Army, and the expediency of maintaining for the time being Soviet forces in Poland according to jointly agreed and observed principles. We consider the fanning of anti-Soviet moods particularly harmful.

We draw attention to the dangerous nationalist trends that are making themselves felt in the two German states. At the same time, we perceive in Germany constructive aims toward integration, with a complete respect for the interests of German neighbors. The forces of the left are fulfilling a fundamental role in implementing these aims. For the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic, cooperation with these forces, especially the social democrats in the FRG and GDR, is a matter of great importance.

We are keenly interested in the success of the democratic transformations in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and other countries in Central and East Europe. We see an opportunity for Poland and Europe in these changes. We propose cooperation with all the forces that are carrying out these changes. We propose to the left wing in Central and East Europe the holding of a joint meeting in Warsaw and an exchange of views.

We are ready to cooperate with everyone for the sake of building a Europe that is politically stable, economically cooperative, and capable of guaranteeing people all their rights. In this cooperation we wish to avail ourselves of the experience of socialist and social democratic parties, and especially the Socialist International.

We are in favor of a partnerlike defense of Poland's interests that transcends party divisions. Broad social consultations and control are essential here. We demand the holding of a Sejm debate on Polish foreign policy as soon as possible. We suggest the appointment of a Social Council for Foreign Policy, attached to the president of the Polish Republic, in which all the political forces of our country would be represented.

The Supreme Council of the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic, Warsaw, 10 March 1990.

Solidarity Presidium Meets in Gdansk

*LD1503133890 Warsaw PAP in English
2150 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[Text] Gdansk, March 13—The Presidium of the National Executive Commission of the Independent, Self-governing Trade Union NSZZ Solidarnosc held its debates here today.

The first part of the meeting, attended by union's economic expert Tomasz Stankiewicz and by head of the Solidarnosc Centre of Social and Vocational Work Ryszard Bugaj, was devoted to planned talks with the government.

Presidium members acquainted themselves with a draft stand of the union on issues planned for the nearest meeting on March 21. It will be devoted to indexations, minimal guaranteed wages and the privatizations of the economy.

On April 6 the talks will be devoted to employment and reductions and on a draft law on factory-level wage systems, which the union received today to express it opinion.

The final stand on those issues will be adopted by the National Executive Commission during its meeting on March 19.

During that meeting participants will also choose the composition of a delegation of the National Executive Commission for talks with the government.

The Presidium of the National Executive Commission decided to forward its two candidates to the supreme employment council, Chairman of the Board of the Mazowsze Region Michal Boni and member of the Presidium of the National Executive Commission Marian Krzaklewski from the Silesian-Dabrowa region.

PSL Rebirth Committee Meets on Economy

LD1603002790 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The chief executive committee of the PSL "Odrodzenie" Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth" held a meeting today during which it stated that the Polish economy has entered into a stage of deep recession, stressing that Polish agriculture has been particularly hit.

The Polish Peasant Party expressed its concern over growing unemployment and openly discussed a possibility of food shortages soon.

It stressed that the government has not sufficiently taken into account the party's proposals, as well as those of Vice Premier and Agriculture Minister Czeslaw Janicki.

In this situation, the PSL "Odrodzenie" obliged Janicki to present its stand to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and to get him acquainted with a correctional economic program announced by the party.

The committee decided to stop publishing its organ "DZIENNIK LUDOWY" owing to the paper's deepening deficit. The last issue will appear on March 16-17.

Mazowiecki Meets PSL Solidarity Activists

LD1503235190 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met today with Jozef Slisz and other activists of the PSL Polish Peasants' Party "Solidarnosc".

Nearly a three hour talk, also attended by, among others, Vice-Premiers Leszek Balcerowicz and Czeslaw Janicki as well as Minister Artur Balazs, focused on matters concerning the policy towards farming and questions connected with the current situation in food economy.

Following the meeting, Vice-Premier and Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Czeslaw Janicki said that he considered the postulates put by the activists of the PSL "Solidarnosc" to be right.

"Those proposals were earlier forwarded during government sessions, but putting them into life was impossible due to the state of the Polish economy. The meeting was very useful and it should help understand the truth that counteracting the drop in agricultural production lies not so much in the interest of farmers, as in the interest of consumers and the entire society," the vice-premier said. "Although each of the members of the cabinet has a different view on the matters of agriculture, then, as it was proved by the meeting, nobody wants to disregard farmers and food economy," Janicki concluded.

Union of Social Democracy Forms Caucus

LD1603072190 Warsaw PAP in English 1625 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—"The decision of the Parliamentary Deputies' Group of the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland to set up an independent parliamentary floor group and thus to divide the PKLD, Parliamentary Floor Group of the Democratic Left, was born of the need to struggle for a renovation of the term of left, for its own identity and credibility in society," Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska, the coordinator of the said caucus told PAP.

She also said that one's own caucus and not artificially maintained unity in the PKLD, provided better chances for preserving one's indentity and gaining prestige in society.

The division within the PKLD will most probably take place in the first half of April.

Iliescu Congratulates Gorbachev on Election

AU1603085490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0838 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/3/1990—The president of the Provisional National Unity Council, Ion Iliescu, sent a telegram to the president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mikhail Gorbachev, to congratulate him on his election to the high office of president of the USSR and wish him success in his responsible activity.

The belief is expressed that the durable relations of friendship, good neighbourhood and cooperation between Romania and the USSR will develop continuously, in the interests of their peoples, of peace and stability in Europe and the world.

Vatra Romaneasca Calls for Coexistence, Respect

AU1503112890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0933 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Statement of 'Vatra Romaneasca' Union"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1990—The Steering Committee of the "Vatra Romaneasca" National Union in Tirgu Mures sent a statement to the news agency "ROMPRES" concerning the 15 March 1848 commemorative events announced by the Provisional Presidium of Romania's Hungarian Democratic Union which says:

Given the fact that on that day the leaders of the Hungarian revolution in the former Habsburg Empire issued in Pest a declaration the 12th point of which provided for Transylvania's annexation to Hungary, to organize festivities in the territory of Romania in observance of that day is to hurt the national feelings of the Romanians, their long fight for the conservation of their ethnicity and the achievement of their unity within the unitary national state.

This is a time when action should be taken with a sense of responsibility for co-existence and mutual respect, the statement goes on, so as not to deepen "mistrust and suspicion among the people in Transylvania who wish to live together in peace and true brotherhood."

Satu Mare Demonstration for Ties With Minorities

AU1503111090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1990—A demonstration was called yesterday at Satu Mare by the local branch of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union. Speakers at the demonstration favoured the development of ties with the minorities on the basis of loyalty to free Romania and of sincere cooperation, respect for everyone's identity and a constructive dialogue since all are people of this land. They opposed chauvinism, irredentism, separatism, any position hostile to democracy and the rule of law, and called for the observance of Romanian historic and cultural traditions by recalling Transylvania's past events, for the fulfilment of the ideals of the Transylvanian school and the Astra [not further identified], for the reinstatement of the true national values badly impaired by the autocratic regimes, for the spiritual re-birth of the countryside and of folkloric traditions.

Magyars Accused of Seeking Political Advantage

AU1503152090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1335 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Political Life: An Interview With Mr Radu Ceontea"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1990—"I believe it is unfair that the Magyar minority of Romania should not claim right but privileges and consider themselves an 'elite' minority " said Mr Radu Ceontea, president of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, in a interview for weekly "FLACARA" issued in Bucharest. "I disapprove of the pressures made by extremist Hungarian leaders soon after the revolution not to win rights, but post-revolutionary 'benefits' with no legal base, in a hurried, unjustified and ungrounded way."

Referring to the fact that the program of the Democratic Union of Magyars of Romania "had been released so soon, i.e. on 26 December," "at a time when no other political or ethnic groups would have thought of such things" Mr Radu Ceontea is of the opinion that "it is obvious that someone had been waiting for long" and "wanted to take advantage of the power void to make their nostalgia of domination and not of democracy come true."

Stressing that "within the Romanian population, the Magyar nationality has no right to consider itself the main victim of Ceausescu's dictatorship" because the "suffering and misery, irrespective of nationality" was "democratically distributed," and the minorities "were even favoured in certain ways," Mr Radu Ceontea says that "just like the Romanian education of all grades, the magyar-language education had to suffer mostly because of the reduction of classes."

A return to normality in his opinion "should be in the observance of the new laws, loyalty to the country's leadership, even if provisional "and not" in the actions organized throughout Transylvania by the former Deputy Minister Palfalvi with the support of rather violent, intrepid and turbulent extremists who show no lucidity or understanding for the difficult political situation of the country and the troubled historical past of the Romanians' life in Transylvania."

He condemns the "mistakes of Magyars of Romania," among which the fact that they "do not consider themselves a minority and claim a special status of a federative type invoking the example of Switzerland" and mostly the "ruthless and most inimical propaganda" in the Magyar press in Romania and abroad. "In these conditions" Mr Radu Ceontea wonders "beyond any democracy and tolerance we advocate, who are those who ought to revise their position."

Transportation Accord Signed With Hungary

AU1503155890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1342 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1990—During the interview in Cluj-Napoca between Mr Alexandru Dobre, Romanian deputy minister of transport, and his Hungarian counterpart, Mr Sandor Kalnoki Kis, an accord on collaboration in road, railway, ship-going and airline transport between the two friendly countries was signed.

The accord provides the reopening of regular bus traffic between the two countries. The Hungarian side sees the operation of nine rides between the two countries possible, while the Romanian side of 14 rides, while both of them ensure reciprocity. [sentence as received]

It was considered useful to connect the road networks between the two countries, including the borderline stations and their extension, as well as to conclude a convention apt to unify and improve the current provisions for borderline railway traffic.

During the interview other aspects were approached related to ship-going transport. The Romanian side is to look into what way could Romania's transit position (non-pollutant shipment and railroad transport, ro-ro [word as received], ferryboat and harbour capacity) be used best.

Hungarians 'Do Not Want To Dismember' Romania

AU1503155390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1356 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Political Life—Gyula David on the Future"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1990—"It is very important to do our utmost now and here to let the Romanian people know our culture, past and present, know us as we really are... And not as we had been described in the books of the regime toppled by the revolution," stated Professor Gyula David an active promoter of both Romanian and Hungarian letters, as a translator of fiction, in an interview for the daily "DIMINEATA."

"The problems discussed here"—he said referring to a conference in Sf. Gheorghe of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania—"should not separate us, if judged clearly and wisely, but may and must be settled. First of all we must find sincere partners to fight the prejudices of the dictatorial regime. Because if we do not know one anther well, we can easily fall prey to manipulation and suspicion. The Magyar Democratic Union of Romania is in fact an organization for the defense of the Magyar nationality's interests," he said, adding that he wants to show that Magyars are not revisionists, irredentists and do not want to dismember the country. "In the common European house to be built in the near or most distant future, we Magyars want to live in peace and good understanding with the Romanians" Mr Gyula David also said adding that the Magyars of Romania will work and sweat for the country's prosperity.

'Chauvinist Elements' Pull Down Romanian Statue

AU1503192890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Political Life—Profanation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—Shortly after the statue of Avran Iancu was profaned in Tirgu Mures, anti-Romanian slogans being written on its socle, on the night of 10 to 11 March, in Sovata resort the bronze statue of the great 1848 revolutionary Nicolae Balcescu was pulled down from its base. Pledging to repair and condemning that reprobable act, the local leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania attributes that act of vandalism to extremist chauvinist elements.

'Vatra Romaneasca' Protests Transylvania Acts

AU1503210590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1917 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Political Life—Meeting of Protest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—Under the auspices of the Bucharest branch of the "Vatra Romaneasca" union a meeting of protest against a number of actions in several towns in Transylvania these days was held in the Romanian capital city on Thursday in the afternoon.

On the occasion, reader Gheorghe Iscru, from the History Faculty in Bucharest, spoke about the course and particularities of the 1848 revolution in Transylvania.

Arad Meeting Commemorates 1848 Revolution

AU1503202490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Commemorative Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—A meeting was held at the Palace of Culture in Arad on Thursday when Mr. Silviu Ratiu, mayor of that town, referred to the 142nd anniversary of the start of the 1848 Democratic Revolution in Hungary. Professional and amateur artistic ensembles in Arad gave an impressive show.

On the same occasion, floral wreaths were laid at the Memorial of the Martyrs of the Revolution in that town on behalf of local authorities and of representatives of the County of Bekes in Hungary, who attended that event.

Tirgu Mures Celebrates

AU1503202690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Political Life—Memorial Services"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—Today, when it is 142 years since the start of the 1848 revolution in Hungary, memorial services were held in a number of towns in Transylvania to commemorate the people who gave their lives for the freedom of nations in 1848.

Young people in Tirgu Mures unveiled a commemorative plaque and gave an impressive show before hundreds of local residents. Floral wreaths were laid on behalf of local enterprises and institutions and of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest.

Like homage-paying events were also held in front of the statue of Nicolae Balcescu and at the Memorial of Martyr Secklers in the same town, in front of the statue of Poet Sandor Petofi in Sighisoara and at the memmorial in Albesti, a village near this town, where the poet died.

Two medals were issued on the occasion by the Democratic Union of the Magyars in Romania.

Several thousand residents commemorated the event in the square in front of the History Museum in Miercurea Ciuc, where the bronze statues of two outstanding 1848 revolutionaries—Romanian Historian Nicolae Balcescu and Magyar Poet Sandor Petofi—lie.

Clashes with Magyars in Transylvania

LD1503225390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Peter Marvanyi's latest report from Mako, on what happened today in Transylvania, arrived during our bulletin.

[Begin Marvanyi recording] Unfortunately, 15 March did not pass without incident in Transylvania. I received the news in Temesvar [Timisoara] that in Szatmarnemeti [Satu Mare] the local organisation of the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania attempted to organize a ceremony. They wished to lay a wreath at the statue of Balcescu, the Romanian national hero and revolutionary, for this is the only 1848 memorial in the town. However, the participants in the Romanian meeting yesterday chased them away. They broke their wreaths, ripped their flags, and outside the people's council, they demanded the resignation of the Magyar mayor and deputy mayor, which did indeed happen.

In Erdoed [Ardud], although the ceremony was held, the loudspeaker system was destroyed.

In Temesvar, the Magyars celebrated and laid wreaths in several places, without incident. First of all, at the Petofi memorial on the edge of town, where around 500 or 600 people gathered. The mood of the ceremony was not totally carefree here either, and as I heard from the conversations of my neighbors, it transpired that many people stayed away from the first free celebration of 15 March through fear here too. In Temesvar, the revolution has not finished, the country continues to expect further steps from us until we see the fundamental pillars of our future democracy standing, said one of the speakers, who later dwelt on the ever-worrying internal political developments, and referred to the proclamation of a few days ago in which the people of Temesvar protested against the rollback, and the chauvinism which serves this.

Finally, I can say to sum up this 15 March spent in Transylvania: The Magyars are happy everywhere that they can celebrate, but there is no question of euphoria. The failure to solve the nationality issue can be discerned in the mood of the holiday, just as—as I heard in the news—at home, the closeness of the elections. [as heard] [end recording]

Bucharest's Cooperation Projects Viewed

AU1503124290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0959 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1990—In a statement Bucharest City Mayor Dan Predescu made to ROMPRES he mentions that in the last few days contacts have been held with the U.S. firm IBM which intends to open a representation in Romania for collaboration in computer technology and its application in administration, ministries and even on a governmental level. Negotiations also started with the "Mercedes" firm to open a representation in Bucharest as well as with "McDonald's" representatives to set the number of stores their company are to open in Romania.

In view is also the proposal for the twinning of the cities of Bucharest and Los Angeles which is to materialize primarily in economic, cultural and sports exchanges.

Premier Roman Receives IAEA Director General

AU1503212190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—On Thursday in the afternoon, Mr. Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, received Mr. Hans Blix, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, a UN body based in Vienna. They discussed questions related to the links between Romania and the IAEA in the area of assistance in and control of nuclear activities, safety in that area and environmental protection.

The interview was attended by Mr. Sergiu Celac, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Adrian Gorgescu, Romanian minster of electric power, and Mr. Olariu Stefan Alexandru, chairman of the National Commission for nuclear activity control.

Premier Roman Receives French Businessmen

AU1503213390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—On Thursday in the afternoon Mr. Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, received Mr. Claude Pineau, director-general of the "Scolex International" and Mr. Emile Bazu, head of the South West Sector of the "Veritas" company, both French companies. Palpable modalities of collaboration in various areas between Romanin enterprises and companies in France were approached.

Timisoara Investigation Should End 17 Mar

AU1403141290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1226 GMT 14 Mar 90

["Law—The Trial in Timisoara"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1990—Referring to the inquest under way in Timisoara on defendants Coman Ion, Matei Ilie, Pacoste Cornel and Balan Radu who are involved in the repressions of the December demonstrators, Prosecutor-General Gheorghe Robu specified that the investigations will end about 17 March. The case will be submitted to the Higher Court of Justice, the Military Department, for the setting of the trial's date.

Prosecution Testimony Heard in Genocide Trial

AU1503204090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Legal Agenda—The Trial in Timisoara"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—The Supreme Court of Justice—The Military Section started hearing witnesses in the trial of the 21 defendants charged with complicity in genocide, abetting of genocide and other crimes committed in Timisoara over December 16-22, 1989. Ten prosectuion witnesses were heard during the Wednesday and Thursday sessions and they referred to aspects related to the transport of the 40 dead bodies taken away from the Timis County Hospital's Morgue and their cremation at the "Cenusa" crematori in Bucharest, as well as to the destruction of the lists of the dead and the wounded in the aforesaid hospital in an attempt at wiping out all traces of genocide.

The testimony attests to the facts stated in the indictment in connection with the crime committeed by some of the defendants, as well as to their intention to erase all traces of the bloody reprimand of the revolution in Timisoara.

The Supreme Court of Justice adjourned until April 12.

Timisoara Trial Ends; Witnesses' Hearing Starts

AU1403203290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 14 Mar 90

["Law—Timisoara: Defendants' Inquiry Has Come To an End"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/3/1990—The inquiry of the 21 defendants tried by the Supreme Court Military Department for committing genocide, abetting genocide and other offences over 16-22 December 1989 ended in Timisoara. Eugen Misea, former head of the judicial office of the Timisoara city militia, Laurentiu Preda, Tiberiu Grui, Eugen Peptan, former judicial officers of the Timis County and Timisoara City Militia, Gheorghe Ganciu, former inspector with the Bucharest Cemeteries Department, Iosef Emilian Zamfir, former manager of the "Cenusa" Human Crematory, Viorel Bucur, former officer with the economic department of the Timis County Militia, were inquired during the Tuesday, 13 March, session. In the depositions made during both the penal and judicial investigations, the defendants admitted the taking of 40 corpses from the morgue of the Timisoara County Hospital, their transportation to and incineration in Bucharest. This abominable deed committed to the end of removing the traces of the bloody repression of the revolution in Timisoara abetted genocide.

Another defendant, Viorel Bucur, is charged with committing the same offence over 17-2 December 1989. [date as received] Being with the command led by the former militia general inspectorate chief, General Constantin Nuta, he learned about the steps taken by him and his deputy, General Velicu Mihalea, as well as about the reprisals in Timisoara. After the overthrowing of the dictatorship, he helped two criminals who died subsequently to leave the city in order to hide and elude penal responsibility.

A sample of the vast repressive apparatus of the Securitate and militia, with the help of which the former regime had held the power for almost fifty years had been inquired for ten days, in sessions that totalled about one hundred hours, about deeds committed to the end of stifling the peaceful fight of the residents of Timisoara against the dictatorship, for freedom and democracy. Among them are Emil Macri, former chief of the second directorate of economic counterintelligence of the former State Security Department (DSD), Filip Teodorescu and Gabriel Anastasiu, former deputy heads of the third counterintelligence and, respectively, the first information directorates of the same department, Ion Popescu, former head of the Timis County Inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior, Traian Sima, former head of the Timis County Securitate and his deputies Gheorghe Atudoroaie and Radu Tinu, Ion Deheleanu, former head of the Timis County Militia, and his deputy Ion Corpodeanu, the director of the Criminalistics Institute of the former General Militia Inspectorate, Nicolae Ghircoias, Ion Baciu, former head of the Economic Directorate of the same inspectorate.

The panel of judges tried to counteract the attempts of those in the box to channel their depositions about the deeds they are charged with towards unessential, peripheral aspects of their activity, to exculpate themselves, resorting to their special status devolving from their capacity as former officers obliged to blindly execute orders.

The judicial investigation enters a new stage that of hearing the witnesses of the prosecution, starting Wednesday, 14 March.

President Iliescu Conducts News Conference

AU1503203190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1922 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Official Agenda—News Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—During a news conference on Thursday Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met with permanent correspondents accredited in Bucharest and special envoys of the foreign press temporarily in the Romanian capital city.

Addressing the journalists, Mr. Iliescu referred to the people's movement in Timisoara, the starting point of the process of toppling Ceausescu, the three-month anniversary of which is celebrated tomorrow, showing that as early as December 20 the Army had fraternized with the population of Timisoara.

Speaking about the current situation in Romania, Mr. Iliescu said that the setting up of the new power was an intricate affair as the grave processes in the Romanian society had gone hand in hand with acts of repression, which prevented a gradual transformation of society from the inside.

In the power vacuum created, the task of creating a regime became more difficult. [sentence as received] That task was assumed by a nucleus of people in the National Salvation Front Council, which was a spontaneous structure, he said. There was broad adhesion to the platform of the Front, which created a people's front for that moment, he added.

Surveying the recent political events in Romania Mr. Ion Iliescu also stated during the news conference with foreign journalists:

After the issue of the decree on the creation of political parties the Front tried to initiate a dialogue with them in connection with the elections initially schedulled for April. Despite confrontations a formula of joint political leadership was sought. That is how the idea of setting up the Provisional National Unity Council, created on 9 February, came into being. As time passed by, both during the debates in plenum and in the PNUC Executive Bureau, we began to learn the lesson of political dialogue. I think that we can say with satisfaction that this council can operate with good results, a number of important normative acts, including that on foreign investment in Romania, having been already passed.

The major problems of economic restructuring call for efforts in point of modernization. The next two years will also be years of great efforts, analyses, investigations to find eficient solutions at a both micro and macroeconomic level. We want to create a state of law, but also a state providing social conditions for the disfavoured strata.

Warns Against 'Witch Hunt'

AU1503211090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1955 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—During the news conference he had today with foreign journalists, Mr. Ion Iliescu also referred to:

—Witch hunt: The reaction of numerous people to the old regime is objective. People try to identify all the evils of the old regime with the members of the Communist Party. But this can turn into a very dangerous witch hunt. In consideration of the fact that there were roughly four million party members, adding to whom are the members of their families we end up with almost half of the country's population. If we take into consideration also the members of the youth organizations then most of the country's population is linked to communism. Among those who died during the revolution many were communists and UCY [Union of Communist Youth] members. It is strange that people talk only about the communists in the front and say nothing about those who are now members of other parties, among them being even members of the Securitate and informers.

—Political parties: Their range is extremely wide. Most of them are PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] members. I think that now there are parties even better organized than the NSF [National Salvation Front] such as the CD-NPP [Christian- Democratic National Peasant Party], and the NLP [National Liberal Party]. The electoral confrontation will be between fragile political formations, but it will not end with these elections. A sedimentation process will follow as many parties have similar platforms. At present one may note a growing contribution of the political parties, at least to the analysis of the existing difficulties. In the government there are ministers that are members of political parties or independent. It is a promising beginning.

—Financial support to parties from the government: We have decided to grant them equal support, in a first stage of 200,000 lei to help them organize their activity. A second amount will follow. The sums will have to be discounted. In a first variant of the voting law foreign assistance for parties was forbidden. In its new variant this provision was eliminated and it was justified that this relief also goes to the patrimony. It was suggested that this aid be declared. Anyhow, it penetrates by various means, including the bringing of one's wealth in the country, as is the case of Mr. Ratiu. We are of the opinion that at least from a moral, psychological point of view, the effect of mentioning this regulation is important.

—Political spectrum: There are certain discrepancies between the left and the right. Part of them have been attenuated through dialogue. There are encouraging signs of political maturation of our society.

—Attempts at destabilization: There are purposeful actions of certain circles that try to destabilize the situation. It was not accidental that I spoke about fascist, Iron-Guardist elements. Threats have been made from abroad. Attempts are made at recruiting the most unstable elements of society. The decision-makers, especially those in the leadership of the parties, should be more active so that the confronation should be of only ideas and programmes. But there are people who count on the destabilization of the situation. Cheap sensationalism should be given up by papers which should prove talent and political responsibility.

—The evolution of the Romanian society: It will result from electoral option. The existing economic structures cannot be ignored. They must be integrated in the future economy. The international context must also be taken in consideration. We must give up the old patterns that hampered the operation of the laws of the market.

—Reunification of Germany: It is an objective process on which almost all the European countries have taken a common stand which is that it is the Germans' business. We appreciate and are solid with Poland as concerns the ensurance of the common frontier, its wish to take part in negotiations included.

—The restrictions adopted by Austria: At present political asylum is out of question. It is no longer justified. Nevetherless we cannot take action on an administrative line, we can only urge people to stay here.

—Relations with neighbours: All the parties are aware of the necessity of having good relations with our neighbours. Even before the war, when there was a certain hostility, there were politicians like Nicolae Titulescu, to refer only to him, who militated for cordial relations with our great neighbour. It is a matter of political lucidity which stems from the country's interests. This holds true for all our neighbours, including Hungary, where moments of tension come up related to certain aspects of our history, which has common interests with us. But there are a number of problems which in moments of internal and international crisis are explainable. Today we witness such moments and we try to overcome them and lay down a solid foundation for our relations of mutual confidence.

Describes Himself as 'Nonconformist'

AU1603090590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0833 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/3/1990—Answering foreign journalists' questions at a press conference in Bucharest yesterday, Mr Iliescu referred to:

—The press: Coverages of the revolution were positive in the beginning. Eventually, positions began to differ failing to reflect realities in our country faithfully, the way they really are. Subjective, they do not bother us. Life will set things on a realistic basis. I am not reproachful. We all must learn.

—Running for president: Virtually, the election campaign starts on 20 March. Candidates for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate may enter race the until 20 April, one month before the election. As far as I am concerned I have one month to think whether to run or not. I don't think the time is right to speak about this.

—His biography: I have been known as a nonconformist. I was born into a family of revolutionaries. My father was a railroad worker, a political and trade unionist militant in Romania. He died at the age of 44. At 15, I was the oldest man in the family. I joined the movement unreservedly, cherishing the ideals that had seized the masses of youths after the war. —His conflict with Ceausescu: Little by little I had to cope with practices that were at odds with democracy. Ceausescu came to power in 1965 after his pro-independence positions were favourably received by the population in 1964. At the time of the events in Czechoslovakia, when I was in the party leadership, Ceausescu enjoyed popularity. Afterwards, Ceausescu took advantage of his position to put the basis for his dictatorship. Eventually our conflict became open, and it went deeper at the time of one of Ceausescu's trips to Asia. At a subsequent plenary meeting Ceausescu accused me of intellectualism.

—On Mr. Dumitru Mazilu: I very much regret his situation. I have known him before the December events. We worked together well during the revolution, but his evolution afterwards was strange, including at a demonstration in the month of January. The press asked him to explain his past activity. His explanations were altogether unsatisfactory. In a depressed mood, he resigned, as he had done before when I, for one, was of the opinion that his resignation not be accepted. I was surprised to learn that he had told a Geneva newspaper in an interview that for two days he allegedly led the destinies of the country alone, and that the NSF Council manipulated not only the press in general, but even the "ROMANIA LIBERA" newspaper against him, which is absurd. He reproached his colleagues in the Council, including myself, that we did not defend him against the accusations in the press. I for one cannot afford to interfere with the editorial activity of any newspaper, least of all to influence "ROMANIA LIBERA" some way or the other.

PNUC Approves Street, Place Names Change

AU1503083890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2252 GMT 14 Mar 90

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/3/1990—The Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] also discussed a decree-law on the assignment and change of names of a number of localities and streets whose current names run counter to the Romanian people's old-standing traditions.

Adding to the original draft were two amendments on the assignment of names in the languages of the nationalities and the co-option in the specialized commission of representatives of the national minorities in areas where that is necessary.

The decree was adopted with a unanimity of vote.

PNUC Members' Statements on Election Law

AU1503143090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1330 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Political Life: Statements by PNUC Members"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1990—After voting the Electoral Law, several members of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] gave a few points on this normative act.

Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the PNUC Foreign Policy Commission: By voting the Electoral Law the Parliament proved its maturity and will to hasten the consolidation of the country through a democratic form, through free elections, through everything that can mean the country's march forward. I think all political groupings taking part in the Parliament have every reason to be satisfied and I also think we must further make efforts so that things be settled, the economy recover and a dialogue be established between these groupings.

Ioan Lup, general secretary of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants' Party: We finished to study this Electoral Law and, finally, we could vote it even if it does not include all the provisions we have considered useful and although the term was almost imposed on us—20 May—because it disadvantages the small parties.

However, the reason for such a term is that we must achieve a parliamentary stability which should lead to an economic stability.

Iosif Boda, the Democratic Labour Party: The setting of the election term on 20 May is, in my opinion, absolutely necessary for the country. Since it is a constituent assembly, it also favours the political parties one way or another because, while the constitution is worked out and is voted, they will have time to organize themselves as powerful groupings if they have audience with the masses.

Democratic Party's Zilisteanu on Revolution

AU0203163690 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Feb 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "What Does the Country Look Like in Freedom? Opinions by Political Figures: Ion Radu Zilisteanu, Vice President of the National Democratic Party of Romania"]

[Text] As usual, after a revolution there is great tension, which, unfortunately, may intensify because of new strains, thus leading to a general state of tension. Apart from this, all potential and unrealized claims during the former regime become topical and many people, who do not understand the real situation in our country, expect miracles to happen overnight. After more than 40 years of dictatorship, we have a low level of political culture and thus the current Romanian political phenomenon is misunderstood. The political parties are challenged by people who have little knowledge of what a political party means and maybe associate the notion of a party with that of the former Communist Party. Usually, the intention of newly created political parties is a good one, but because of the general reticence I mentioned, people are not even curious to read their platforms or to discuss with their representatives the ways and means of solving the innumerable problems confronting our country. For the political parties, and hence for us, the two-month period that has elapsed since the revolution has been very difficult with respect to organization, the solution of administration problems, and publicizing our viewpoints on our country's current and future problems. Because of all this, the political atmosphere in our country can be described as unclear and unstable, despite the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council. In connection with this council, it must be emphasized that some of the former practices still exist.

The National Democratic Party encountered great difficulties in obtaining headquarters in the approximately 30 counties where we have representatives. These difficulties affected our political and organizational activity. We also had difficulties in connection with making copies of the program-platform and of other documents which publicized our party's position. Our specialized commissions are currently working on presenting our party's viewpoints on various issues in detail, but, unfortunately, we do not have access to a number of factual data on the situation of our country. I would also like to add that the president of our branch in the Motru area (the only representative of any party in that area), a miner, has informed us that some unidentified burglars entered the local headquarters of our party, stealing some 2,000 applications which were already filled out (the majority being signed by miners) and other documents. Normal activity is not possible under such conditions.

The establishment of a democratic climate in our country even in this provisional period makes it necessary for the representatives of all political groups to assume political responsibility. Everybody should be aware that unleashing any kind of passion may lead to disaster. Therefore, we call on all personnel in the economy to understand the seriousness of our situation and the fact that the beginning of improving the social, political, and economic climate in our country depends on them.

Labor Minister on Country's Unemployment

AU1303165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1442 GMT 13 Mar 90

["Social Life—Unemployment"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/3/1990—New regulations are under way concerning the unemployed and the state of joblessness, Mihnea Marmeliuc, minister of labour and social security told the Romanian press. According to the minister, the small industry and services are the main fields that can absorb a good part of the unemployed. An unemployment normative act is being drafted, the minister also said, to set up the unemployment benefit fund. Also in the making is a draft law governing the activity of research workers trade unions.

Five thousand applications for private enterprises

About five thousand Bucharesters have so far said they would like to engage in private trade or services on a family, association or small enterprise basis, the Deputy Mayor of Bucharest, Vasile Zmeu, has announced. To assist the applicants, who may also qualify for banking credits on request, the city councillors are making a list of the potential premises of such enterprises at the groundfloor area of many blocks of flats, all while considering the possibility to move certain sorehouses and offices out of their present location.

Radio Interviews Civil Rights Activist Cornea

LD1302234090 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Recently in Norway, Doina Cornea was presented with an international prize for her civil rights activity. On the way back she stopped for a short time at Ferihegy Airport, where our staff member Miklos Lengyel spoke to her.

[Lengyel] Mrs. Cornea, the renowned civil rights activist from Cluj, approves of Hungarians having independent schools; she disagrees only in that they should be set up by the middle of the academic year. She believes that independent Hungarian language teaching should begin in the autumn in the designated middle schools. Perhaps this was the most essential point made by the elderly language teacher, who gave an interview at Ferihegy Airport to the representatives of the Hungarian press who were present. First, she spoke a few words in Hungarian:

[Begin recording] [Cornea] I attended a Hungarian school for two years.

[Lengyel] Where?

[Cornea] In (?Reghin), [end recording]

[Lengyel] Later she continued the conversation in French, because she can formulate her thoughts better in this language. In answering questions, she said that unity and friendship evolved between the Hungarians and the Romanians at the time of the revolution; but now, in her view, this unity has been broken incomprehensibly. She believes that the Hungarian intelligentsia is also guilty here. I said, that after decades of repression, one should hardly be surprised. She replied, that she understands this, but the Hungarians must also realize that the Romanians do not have rights in Romania, either. That's why the task now is to carry on the revolution step by step. There are two forces in the revolution, according to Mrs. Cornea, the people in the street openly shouting anticommunist slogans, and those communist leaders who are waiting in the background for their opportunity. Today they are in power, but Mrs. Cornea does not agree with this. That is why she left the Front [National Salvation Front]. She praised the opposition parties who have done alot of good, while the Communists have only destroyed things.

Chitac on Reorganization of Interior Ministry

AU1403195490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1625 GMT 14 Mar 90

["The Film of the Revolution—The Heroes of the Ministry of the Interior"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/3/1990—In the actions to repress the terroristic forces and consolidate the gains of the revolution, 42 police and fire department officers and NCO's sacrificed their life while on duty, and 43 cadres and servicing military were wounded, stated the minister of the interior, Mihai Chitac.

For their contribution to the cause of the revolution, ten cadres were declared heroes, seven of them being promoted in the rank post-mortem.

Referring to the reorganization and revigoration of the ministry's apparatus, Mihai Chitac said that 780 cadres who compromised themselves or committed abuses were dismissed. At the same time, young people who took part in the revolution were enrolled in the police, 300 cadres were promoted by criteria of competence, while in the counties with population of other nationality workers from among it were also employed in the police.

Mazilu Defends his Activity, Position

AU1503123290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0858 GMT 15 Mar 90

["From Parliament Hall"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1990—It is an act of justice that Mr. Mazilu should sit here among us, said the president of the Free Democratic Social Justice Party who stated the position of 23 political formations among which the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, the Association of Former Political Detainees, the Brotherhood Trade Union of Timisoara.

Mr. Mazilu was invited to the rostrum to outline his activity and position before and after the revolution, because his statements are contradictory and he himself is a highly contested politician. Mr. Mazilu said that deceived by the liberalization in the early years of Ceausescu's dictatorship he had served its interests but that eventually, objectively considering the facts, he became an opponent of the regime. Attempting to define his position in the post- revolutionary period, he avoided a direct, concrete, to-the-point answer. Then Mr. Mazilu presented facts directly linked to his own publicly stated position—both to the 12 January demonstration and to his answers to the Romanian and foreign press.

It was inferred from the addresses made by Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman, as well as by Ion Caramitru, Mircea Dinescu, Cazimir Ionescu, Dan Iosif that the explanations supplied by Mr. Mazilu contained inaccuracies, and contradictory elements.

Many representatives underlined Mr. Mazilu's unquestionable professional merits which however were considered as not enough to warrant his presence in the Council and asked him to clearly state whether his restoration was a factor of stability or not, and in whose name he wished to join it. There were speakers who made in point that many of the parties that sought to bring him back into the Council were the same that the previous day had put pressure to postpone the elections.

Even though the Democratic Union of Romania, the Ecological Party of Arad, the Romanian Peasant Party offered him a place in parliament, Mr. Mazilu wanted to remain independent.

Taking the floor again, the council's president said that he had a high opinion of Mr. Mazilu with whom he had worked efficiently and suggested a personal discussion with Mr. Mazilu before the matter is brought again before the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council]. Many representatives objected strongly to Mr. Ion Iliescu's proposal which cannot take effect.

It may be interesting to note that as representatives were discussing whether or not to make a decision on that matter, Mr. Mazilu left the room.

Court President on Reorganization of Justice

AU1503153390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1344 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Interviews-Statements—A Priority: Reorganization of Justice"]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1990—"The reorganization of justice in Romania is a priority" the president of the Supreme Court of Romania, Mr Teodor Vasiliu, stated in an interview for the daily "TINERETUL LIBER." He also said: "the laws should be modified. I think of the criminal code and the procedure, as I believe that the role of lawyers should grow. Modifications should be made concerning the participation of the lawyers from the very beginning of the criminal investigation. Thus the quality of enquiries could be improved, and the trial procedure be fully observed, even if things would not go so fast."

When asked about the independence of the Romanian justice, he answered: "I believe that it is now more independent than it had been. Each magistrate can now judge things according to the evidence presented. But I would be wrong to say that there is an absolute independence, because there are many magistrates who still work as before, and many of them still feel they should consult with their chiefs which means in fact to involve the latter in decision-making. The magistrate will be really free when we shall have a new constitution providing for the total independence of the judicial power, separating it from the executive one, and then we will be really able to reorganize justice."

Iasi Press Strike Extends to Bacau

AU1203204690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1990—In a letter sent to Prime Minister Petre Roman reporters with the newspaper "DESTEPTAREA," five weeklies and six monthlies put out by the printing house in Bacau announce they solidarize with the strike of the journalists in Iasi and support the claims they set forth. The letter is signed by the free trade union of the journalists in Bacau.

New Society, Gypsy, Democracy Alliance Parties

AU1403160490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1337 GMT 14 Mar 90

["The Political Parties Introduce Themselves: The Romanian Party for the New Society; the Gypsies' Party; Alliance for Democracy Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/3/1990—The Romanian Party for the New Society declares it is a party of national reconciliation, political and ideological tolerance, gathering all democratic and patriotic forces. It speaks for a true pluralism and will work against any forms of extremism, vindictive spirit, so that the dictatorship of a single party which greatly damaged Romania should never occur; for a mixed economy—state, cooperative and private—for an efficient and proportional distribution of these sectors and the functioning of the entire economic system upon the principles of the market economy. Privatization is an objective necessity, and should be mainly oriented toward small-scale industry, trade, services, tourism. The party holds it is uneconomic and unpatriotic to achieve industrial progress by selling Romanian economic units to foreign companies. As Romania is a solvent country, with no debts, action will be taken for an intense collaboration with other countries and the promotion of foreign investment, mostly by creating joint societies in a reasonable proportion, preserving national sovereignty and the right to be master of the country. When choosing the forms of property, account must be taken of the foremost objective of the whole economy—the growth of the farm production, the increase of individual and collective incomes. Peasants will be free to choose their own way in each locality and unit. The party is for a state-subsidized agriculture following the best models in the world. The party calls to sustained actions against the economic activities which endanger the environment, life resources, asking for the implementation of a national programme of preserving the ecological balance. The development of science, culture and education is a fundamental target of this party. It also demands the guaranteeing of all citizens' freedom of conscience and religious belief.

Another political group is the Gypsies' Party of Romania. Its president, Mr Mihai Ilie, points out: "Our party wants to mobilize all the gypsies in Romania around its platform. Our party will work to protect the traditions of this ethnic group. It will also work for the emancipation of gypsies, for the development of their culture for their integration into the social life. While organizing the party, we make a survey of the problems facing the gypsies, to work out a coherent political line answering the aspirations of our nationality. We have powerful organizations in Sibiu, Olt, Vilcea Counties and we can say that the measures taken will help organize the party in all counties, the capital city included. We are going to print posters, a weekly , so as to gain more adherents.

Alliance for Democracy Party: This party pursues inter alia: the reconstruction of democratic and free Romania, as a sovereign and dignified nation to join the European civilization, without spheres of influence. It declares itself a party of national interests, allowing that the world we live in is a world of interdependences, a world in which not only Europe but the whole world should become a common house. It works for the establishment of democracy and the state of law, based on a constitutional parliamentary system, the separation of powers and the thorough reorganization of the national economy to make it profitable, for the urgent recovery of agriculture and the growth of the peasants' standard of living, to give back the intelligentsia the significant role it played in the making of the Romanian nation and as banner of Romania's reintegration into the civilized societies. It promotes the right of all citizens of another nationality who live on the Romanian land, to national, religious and cultural identity, to all democratic forms in society.

In foreign policy, it advocates the traditional, progressive stands sustained by Romania.

List of Parties Registered Since 21 Feb

AU1503165390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—There are 57 parties in Romania. According to data supplied by the vice-president of the Bucharest City Tribunal, Dumitru Andrei, another ten political parties and grouping have been registered since 21 February:

—the National Reconstruction Party,
—the Social Justice (New Democracy) Party,
—"Libertatea" Worker Alliance,
—the Free Exchange Party,
—the United Party of Romanies, Fiddlers and Gypsy Woodworkers of Romania,
—the Romanies' Party of Romania,
—the Romanian National Party,
—the Radical Democratic Party,
—the Cluj-Napoca Civic Forum,
—the National Unity Party of the Romanians of Transylvania.

President Drnovsek Congratulates Gorbachev

LD1503173490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] SFRY Presidency President Dr. Janez Drnovsek has sent a congratulations telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev on the occasion of his election as Soviet president. President Drnovsek emphasizes the wish for the successful implementation of the policy of democratization of Soviet society and for its contribution to the development of equal international relations in the interests of cooperation, peace and security in the world, and expresses Yugoslavia's readiness to develop and improve friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union in the future.

'Respect' for Policies Noted

LD1503230790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia evinces a high respect for the policy pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev and its influence on democratic changes in the Soviet Union and in the world, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a press conference here today.

Asked to comment Gorbachev's election as president of the Soviet Union, Vajgl said the changes are most clearly visible in Eastern Europe which has undergone "a comprehensive transformation" from a bloc factor to a geographic one.

'Greater Bulgaria' Aspirations Viewed

AU1603100490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Mar 90 p 9

[From "The Week in the World" column by Vlado Teslic: "Who Needs a (Greater) Bulgaria"]

[Text] In reply to the question asked by many journalists and even the most responsible Bulgarian statesmen and politicians concerning who now needs the Macedonian national issue to be kindled, Yugoslavia puts a counterquestion: Who now needs a return to 3 March? Astonished by the attitude of Lilov, Bulgarian Communist Party head, Milan Pancevski, Central Committee president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, reacted in a similar way by asking: Who needs a return to the 19th century? The road to constructing a democratic society on the threshold of the 21st century and entry into Europe cannot be achieved by returning to the well-known chauvinist ideas of the 19th century, Pancevski says.

Our contribution to these questions could be: Who needs a (greater) Bulgaria? We want to, in fact, return to our old idea on this occasion, too, that this does not involve raising the Macedonian national issue and even less, redesigning borders. The first question was basically resolved at the second session of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and the second was taken off the agenda by the Helsinki agreement.

We are basically talking about the well-known scheme that is more than 100 years old of first of all making a unification of the South Slav peoples in the Balkans impossible and then doing everything to destabilize Yugoslavia—which was unified in the most democratic way and is internationally recognized—destroy it, and then to grab hold of its parts. This is where Bulgaria's pretensions have always been greatest, regardless of whether they have been expressed by emperors of mainly German extraction and inclined toward allegiance with the Germans or by Communists, mainly connected with Stalin and the Comintern and some of their heirs in the USSR.

It can probably now be seen that the creation of a strong and politically independent Yugoslavia during the National Liberation Struggle halted this interference and instability in the Balkans and that a unified and strong Yugoslavia became a factor of peace and stability in this region, especially in the past period of confrontation and cold war. Have these traditional anti-Yugoslav forces decided that international circumstances are now suitable to again fish in muddy waters around Yugoslavia and in the Balkans?

Who Needs 3 March

The extent to which Pancevski is right is shown by the rivalry between the supposedly democratized leaders of Communist Party of Bulgaria and the opposition of self-styled democrats to "sponsor" 3 March as a day for a great national holiday to mark the day of Bulgaria's liberation from Turkey. The symbolism is obvious. On that day in 1878, a greater Bulgaria was briefly created at San Stefano, not far from Istanbul, at the dictate of Russia after victory over the Turks and the creation of the Autonomous Principality of Bulgaria that had almost the whole of Macedonia and a part of Serbia and Rumelia joined to it. The principality of Bulgaria actually became one of the principalities of tsarist Russia.

The San Stefano Bulgaria lasted only briefly, of course, and in July of the same year, at the Congress of Berlin and with the participation of other great powers, the borders of greater Bulgaria were destroyed. Eastern Rumelia was formed; Nis, Pirot, Toplice, and Vranje were restored to Serbia; Montenegro was expanded and Romania received some parts too.

What is interesting in this new "revision" of the Bulgarian state and its creation is the rejection of 9 September (1944) as a national holiday, which was the day when in the face of attack by the Red Army in pushing out the fascist forces of Germany and Bulgaria, a "coup d'etat" was carried out in Sofia.

Those who are acquainted with the revolutionary temperament of the Bulgarian leadership circles will, of course, point out that there is nothing strange in the advocates of devoted communism and even unification with the USSR finding it necessary to renounce this in order to pull out their new identity cards for entry into a "democratic Europe." It will be difficult for anyone to be impressed by this and it will be difficult for those who took part in the great anti-fascist war to show anything more than scorn. After all, they are not very sensitive to this in Sofia. To them, the return to 3 March is, above all, a symbol that creates a psychological and political arena for kindling nationalism and chauvinism and for a return to the territory of a San Stefano Bulgaria. In the name of this, they have rejected not only Dimitrov but they are now rejecting Zhivkov—who revised not only Dimitrov but also Lenin's principles on the national rights of the Macedonian minority—for the simple reason that he "reconciled himself" to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia remaining part of Yugoslavia. Therefore, he is not being reproached so much because of dictatorship and his responsibility for Bulgaria's backwardness in all areas of life but because of Macedonia.

Invoking both Helsinki and the generally accepted norms on respect for human and national rights, Yugoslavia is asking that Bulgaria stops the assimilation of Macedonians and recognizes their national minority rights, to exactly the same extent as they recognize the rights of Turks on their territory.

Albanian Foreign Minister on Kosovo Situation

LD1503110790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2241 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (TANJUG)—We want essential stability in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia as a whole, and we want its relations with Albania to be those of good neighbours, Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile said in Sofia today.

According to Malile, who is paying a visit to Bulgaria, one of the most delicate Balkan problems is the ethnic question. For this reason, it is necessary that it be discussed properly and patiently, the Albanian minister told a group of Albanian and Bulgarian reporters.

Malile assessed the situation in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, populated predominantly by ethnic Albanians, as extremely difficult. Taking as his point of departure an assessment that general trends in Europe and in the Balkans are directed at a better understanding and an improvement in relations, he concluded that a dialogue in Kosovo would be part of the same trends.

The Albanian minister took this opportunity also to accuse Yugoslavia of trying to "shift the burden of its internal problems on others."

At the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry today, foreign reporters were told that, at the express demand of the guest from Albania, there would be a meeting with only "domestic and Albanian reporters."

Loncar Talks with Arab Foreign Ministers

LD1203160890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1758 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Tunis, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, who has been presiding at a meeting in Tunis of the committee of nine nonaligned countries on Palestine, had several bilateral meetings today with ministers of some Arab countries who have been taking part in the meeting of the Arab League. The federal secretary had separate talks with the foreign ministers of Syria—Faruq al-Shar; Kuwait—Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir; Saudi Arabia—Crown Prince Amir 'Abd al-Aziz al-Sa'ud; and Egypt—'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid.

There was an exchange of views on the most topical questions of international affairs, especially the political developments in Eastern Europe, in which the Arab ministers showed particular interest.

One topic was the preparations for the upcoming special UN General Assembly session on development—or rather the ministerial meeting of the nonaligned countries—that would be held on this occasion in New York with the aim of new agreements and actions of the nonaligned countries in the sphere of seeking the most favorable possible solutions for the underdeveloped countries of the world.

Also considered were Yugoslavia's current bilateral relations with these countries. The focus of the talks was above all on the search for ways to further improve mutual economic cooperation. There were special talks with the Kuwaiti foreign minister on the possibilities for, and development of, investment cooperation.

Loncar Meets Tunisian Prime Minister

LD1303043290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Tunis, March 12 (TANJUG)—Cooperation between Tunsia and Yugoslavia is developing successfully, but considerable room still exists for its expansion and promotion in the economic field, it was noted today in the talks between Tunisian Prime Minister Hamed Karoui and Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

The commodity exchange between the two countries has stabilized at thirty million dollars a year. Opportunities for expansion of economic cooperation between the two countries lie primarily in the engagement of Yugoslav enterprises on capital projects in Tunisia, either individually, or in partnerships with enterprises from other countries. Loncar expressed interest of Yugoslav enterprises to have a share in the building of new dams in Tunisia, and in the construction of a highway between Tunisia and Libya.

Karaui and Loncar also discussed the possibilities of industrial cooperation between Yugoslav and Tunisian enterprises, it has been learned. They also reviewed the activities of the non-aligned movement and cooperation among Mediterrannean countries.

Loncar Arrives in Morocco for Visit

LD1203233890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Rabat, March 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar arrived today in Rabat on a two-day official and friendly visit to Morocco, where he will held talks with Moroccan Foreign Minister Abdellatif Filali.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary will leave tomorrow for Agadir, in southern Morocco, where he will be received by King Hassan the Second.

Much importance is being attached in Morocco to Loncar's visit, as he is the highest-ranking Yugoslav official to visit that country since Yugoslavia and Morocco re-established diplomatic ties in May 1988. Yugoslav-Moroccan diplomatic relations were broken off by a unilateral decision by the government in Rabat late in 1984 following Yugoslavia's recognition of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

Loncar's talks with his host, the Moroccan foreign minister, will include, it has been learned, ways of strengthening relations and cooperation between the two non-aligned countries, and the current international situation, especially in Europe and the Mediterranean region, as well as the role and place of the Non-aligned Movement in the settlement of problems and focuses of crises which are burdening the world today.

Yugoslav-Moroccan economic cooperation is experiencing a positive trend. The two-way commodity trade last year reached a value of 68 million dollars.

Meets Cabinet Officials

LD1203234590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Rabat, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, who arrived today from Tunis on a two-day friendly visit to Morocco, has had exhaustive talks here with Moroccan Prime Minister Azzedine Laraki on the possibilities of improving economic cooperation between the two countries.

Loncar explained the scope for and interest of the Yugoslav economy to take part in the realization of several economic development projects in Morocco in the coming four years. He noted in particular the readiness of Yugoslav enterprises to engage themselves in constructing a Moroccan port for the dispatch of phosphates, and also in building warehouses and constructing systems to improve the water supply. In the talks between Laraki and Loncar, the importance was also stressed of the contemporary integration processes in Europe, the Maghreb, and the Mediterranean.

The federal secretary for foreign affairs also had talks with the Moroccan prime minister on the forthcoming activities of the nonaligned countries and the activity of Yugoslavia as president of the movement.

Economic cooperation also dominated Loncar's exchange of views with Moroccan Foreign Trade Minister Hassan Abou Ayoub, with special emphasis on the need to balance trade between the two countries, in which the deficit is on the Yugoslav side, and on the possibility of our enterprises obtaining investment projects in Morocco.

The federal secretary for foreign affairs also, of course, had a meeting with his host, Abdellatif Filali, the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, who also welcomed him at the airport, and with him exchanged views on the most topical questions of international relatioins, especially developments in Europe, events in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and the activities of the nonaligned countries. The two ministers also considered the scope for improving Yugoslav-Moroccan cooperation, especially in the economic field.

Meets With Political Parties

LD1403154390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Rabat, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, who since yesterday has been paying an official and friendly visit to Morocco, left Rabat for Agadir today where he will be received by King Hassan II.

During the morning, Loncar had a meeting in Rabat with Jalal Essaid, Moroccan Chamber of Representatives vice president, and subsequently also with the leaders and representatives of the Moroccan political parties represented in the parliament. During the two hours of talks, they focused their attention on the need and modalities of strengthening Yugoslav-Moroccan relations, on current international issues, and on adapting the nonaligned movement, in which Yugoslavia and Morocco have been playing a significant role since its very inception, to present-day developments in the world.

During the meeting, the four-year break of diplomatic relations between the two countries (between November 1984 and May 1988), because of our recognition of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, was compared with a transient summer cloud that crossed the sky of the traditionally good Yugoslav-Moroccan relations. [passage omitted]

Received by King Hassan

LD1403155190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Agadir, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Moroccan King Hassan II today received in his palace in Agadir Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, who began an official visit to Morocco yesterday. They discussed relations between the two countries and current international issues.

It was assessed in the conversation that relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Morocco, which are based on long tradition and friendship, should be given fresh impetus, for which not only favorable political conditions and mutual interest, but also economic benefit, exist.

King Hassan supported the idea that there should be more Yugoslav enterprises involved in the fulfillment of numerous projects of Morocco's economic development (grain elevators, irrigation systems, construction of a harbor for shipping phosphates) that Budimir Loncar discussed yesterday with Prime Minister Laraki and Foreign Minister Filali.

The Moroccan sovereign and the Yugoslav foreign secretary exchanged opinions on the current international trends and the role of the nonaligned movement. King Hassan stressed that the new international trends affirm the historic mission and value of the principles of nonaligned policy and assessed that the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the nonaligned countries, which is to take place next month in New York, should give new directions for the movement's activities in the present basically positive international trends.

Also discussed were international integrational processes, particularly in Europe and the Mediterranean region, and King Hassan II emphasized the great importance of the union of the Maghreb countries formed two years ago for strengthening cooperation and integration in that region. King Hassan and Federal Secretary Loncar noted the necessity of developing the widest possible cooperation between the countries on both sides of the Mediterranean.

The concluding discussions in Agadir between Budimir Loncar and his host, Abdellatif Filali, are yet to take place, and tomorrow morning Loncar ends his visit to Morocco.

Loncar Letter to UN Criticizes Albania

LD2802151190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar has sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar informing him about the legal and constitutional status of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Budimir Loncar also briefed Perez de Cuellar on the current tense situation in this province caused by the activity of the separatists and nationalists encouraged by neighboring Albania.

In the letter, which also constitutes an answer to the letter from Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile to De Cuellar that was riddled with misinformation about the position of the Albanian nationals and attacks on Yugoslavia, Loncar stresses that because of a threat to the territorial integrity and the constitutional system by Albanian extremists, (?Yugoslavia) had to apply the necessary measures to protect peace, security, and [words indistinct] in Kosovo.

Budimir Loncar's letter to (Perez de) Cuellar, distributed through the UN information service as an official document, says:

"Esteemed Mr.Secretary-General,

"A letter sent to you by Reis Malile, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania minister of foreign affairs, has been circulated as an official UN document. It was with regret that I discovered that the letter contained pieces of flagrant misinformation about and unfounded attacks on the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia designed to mislead both the United Nations and you personally. I therefore feel all the more obliged to make my contribution to an objective explanation of this complex and sensitive issue.

"As you probably already know, a part of my country—the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo—where Albanian nationality makes up the majority of the population, enjoys a high degree of autonomy guaranteed by the Constitution. The Albanian nationality, as a national minority in Yugoslavia, has the same rights as other Yugoslav nations and nationalities. The Albanian language in the province enjoys equality in education, including universities, in state administration and judiciary, in the press and radio and television, and in other scientific and cultural institutions in the province. Representatives of Albanian nationality are proportionally represented in the organs of power in not just the SAP of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia whose part the province is under the Constitution, but also in all federal organs such as the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the Yugoslav Government. Members of Albanian nationality have so far occupied such posts as the head of state and federal parliament president. They head Yugoslavia's diplomatic missions and occupy the highest posts in the Army and in the security organs. Similar instances cannot often be found in other countries.

"In its entire postwar period, Yugoslavia has paid particular attention to ensuring a faster economic, social, and cultural development of the SAP of Kosovo and to this end has been deploying substantial resources. Although some progress has been made, Kosovo remains the least developed part of Yugoslavia with low productivity, with by far the highest birthrate in Europe, and with other problems stemming primarily from the legacy of history.

"Unfortunately, extremist nationalistic and separatist forces from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, which receive outside inspiration and even encouragement, with the ultimate objective of separating Kosovo from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia, also operate in Kosovo. As you will no doubt agree, this represents a threat to the territorial integrity and constitutional system in the country. These forces resort to violence, use of arms, and destructive actions with elements of terrorism, posing a threat to the freedoms and rights of the citizens and also to the normal functioning of the democratic institutions of the system. In their attempt to create an ethnically pure Kosovo, they have been intensifying pressure for years on members of the Serb, Montenegrin, and other nations in Kosovo who are compelled to emigrate en masse from Kosovo. In an atmosphere of pressure and fear, thousands upon thousands of these citizens have left Kosovo and despite all the measures that have been taken this process has not been halted. For all these reasons, the situation in Kosovo has moved to the brink of an interethnic armed conflict that would certainly cause many casualties.

"Exactly this kind of situation occurred again recently. It is understandable that in this situation the Yugoslav state, as any other law-governed state, has the responsibility to apply the necessary measures so that peace and security of all the citizens may be ensured in this part of Yugoslavia. Of course, we deeply deplore the casualties. However, the continuation and the enlargement of the conflict had to be prevented because the situation threatened to lead to far more serious consequences.

"Peace and calm for all Kosovo citizens, regardless of their national or religious membership, are a reasonable precondition for a normal functioning of democratic institutions and fulfillment of the rights of our people and also for unhampered economic and other activities. Besides, peace and order in Kosovo are the necessary precondition for implementation of our basic commitment at this time—the Yugoslav program of deep-seated economic and political reforms and full democratization of our society, including Kosovo.

"I believe that a stable and prosperous Yugoslavia with human freedoms and rights whose evolution is a follow-up on what has already been achieved is not of interest to Yugoslavia alone but also more generally. We are investing great efforts to ensure that these positive democratic processes in my country, as part and parcel, of the profound changes in Europe and in the world, should develop without any hindrance. It is normal that in this respect we should expect understanding and support, not least by the neighboring countries. To say the least, we are therefore surprised by the conduct of the most responsible representatives of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania who, objectively speaking, provide encouragement for those who are provoking destabilization in Kosovo because the undermining [words indistinct] on several occasion drew the attention of the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to this matter.

"I do not wish on this occasion to compare human freedoms and human rights in Kosovo, that is to say the freedoms and rights that the Albanians enjoy in Yugoslavia, with the situation in Albania as regards this matter, or the status of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia with the status of the Macedonian, Montenegrin, Serb, and other national minorities in Albania. Now do I wish to raise the question of whether it is morally right to encourage unrest among the Albanians in Yugoslavia and in so doing put their lives at risk.

"Allow me to stress in conclusion that the policy of developing good-neighborly relations remains an enduring commitment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that, in this spirit, we will continue efforts to promote relations and cooperation with all our neighboring countries, including the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on the same principles and with the same objectives. Along this line, Yugoslavia will continue to be involved in the development of regional cooperation, trust, and understanding in the Balkans, contributing, in so doing, to better relations in Europe.

"Of course, Yugoslavia's efforts alone are not enough. Trust and cooperation call for good intentions and efforts by both sides that on several occasions has been pointed out to the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, too. We would like to hope that in this respect this letter will also provide encouragement for the wisdom and responsibility required in the relations among the neighbors.

"We beg you to circulate this letter as an official UN document.

"Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurances of my deep respect for an exceptional recognition of your efforts in fulfillment of your lofty mission."

Parliament Adopts Proposal on Constitution

LD1503173290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1552 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Parliament today decided that work on changing the federal Constitution should begin.

A proposal on changes in the constitution, which was submitted by the Federal Government and the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina, was adopted by a wide majority vote at a session of the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

The Federal Chamber concluded that "conditions are ripe for undertaking to make changes in the fundamental legal document of the country."

Federal Money Supply Problems Viewed

AU1503130390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 p 2

[Djoko Kesic commentary: "Ante's Suffering"]

[Text] The forecast by the federal administration that March inflation will be down to zero is, to judge by everything, realistic, but this does not mean that Prime Minister Ante Markovic has finally found the golden key to resolving the economic and social crisis. It could rather be said that the initial results of the reform, the political image, and exceptionally high popularity rating of the Federal Executive Council head is slowly turning into a reform trap, in which the victors can very easily become victims.

Ante Markovic is trying with all his might not to drown in the maelstrom of political conflicts in the country, endeavoring to use his political skill and using as little involvement and explanation as possible to preserve the image of the first political integrative personality in Yugoslavia. Analysts point us to the conclusion that the middle course steered by the federal government and its quest for a seed of wisdom in its conciliatory mission between north and south is a sheer waste of time because the fate of both the economic reform, and certainly Yugoslavia too will be resolved in the next two months. The "time-wasting" is supported with the fact that the until-recently defenders of Ante Markovic's reform concept (Croatia and Slovenia) have now become its most vehement critics, and the threats to bring down the federal government from Serbia and Montenegro have now turned into devoted defense of the prime minister and his policy.

It is true that in this Danaan [reference to saying: timeo Danaos et donna ferentees—I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts] variant of support and censure, the fate of the constitutional changes according to the Federal Executive Council can be resolved in our daily political fluidity, but it is hard to believe that the political position of the federal government between north and south will be crucial here.

Outside this context, the question was asked in the SFRY Assembly for the first time in the last two and one-half months of whether reform is actually being implemented or whether it is just marking time. According to verbally conveyed figures from the federal government, the main figures are not very encouraging. Prices are falling lethargically, foreign exchange reserves are growing at unbelievable speed and are certainly turning into a burden for the reform, exports are increasing but at too high a price, industrial production is falling at a greater speed than expected, production is not increasing, and the cost of production is stagnating.

In the information that is given out bit by bit by the Federal Executive Council, the first statement was made two days ago about the serious troubles of the reform, and this in the key segment of monetary policy. The present political structures in the federal units, business, and banks do not in the least concur with the worn-out rule that belts must be tightened if the crisis is to be overcome.

It is quite certain that the key to reform lies in the ability, inability, or courage of the federal government to switch off money-printing presses, to withdraw all excessive amounts of money, and to tackle the serious problems of quite certain social unrest and dissatisfaction. The federal government admits that the National Bank of Yugoslavia was conducting the wrong monetary policy at the beginning of the year because at times large amounts of unbacked money were found to be in circulation. The consequence of this was logical: Banks began to give loans to businesses and consumer credit to citizens and it was almost like the "golden" days of socialist errors.

Trying to prevent this strange reform therapy, the Federal Executive Council made a crucial move—it reduced the supply of money to banks by 20 percent. The National Bank of Yugoslavia has already withdrawn from circulation more than 13 billion dinars. This entire operation should have ended by the end of March so now it is being calculated that the central bank will in this period have to withdraw about 27 billion dinars from circulation.

If this move is made, there is fear of the real possibility of there still being a surplus of money in circulation. Banks and economic chambers have already begun to moan that the economy will be left without even minimal funds.

Shady dealings are still lucrative in our economy because banks are reluctant to present the federal government with an in-depth analysis of their liquidity. Because of all that, it is logical that the federal government, together with the central bank, cannot conduct an appropriate monetary policy, so it is therefore exposed to the risk of seriously stumbling at the beginning of the reform. This is definitely affected by the fact that since 20 December 1989, almost $2 billion have been changed at our banks for dinars that have come straight from the printing press. If one adds to this the primary money issue for exports to the clearing account area, then the troubles of Ante Markovic and his government are quite clear.

However, there is no column for suffering in reports written on honors students. Only success is written here.

Markovic Discusses Finances With Bankers

LD1503192390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—After the 64-percent figure in December, inflation went down to 8.4 percent in February and it is expected to be nearly one percent in March owing to price decreases, announced Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic during a meeting with representatives of Yugoslav banks today.

According to the announcement of the FEC Secretariat for Information, Markovic remarked that "taking into account such lack of financial discipline and the poor functioning of our banking this is quite a miracle," and said that "the violating of monetary framework and the lack of financial discipline will on no account be allowed." He said that the FEC—consistently implementing the strictly formulated program—tries to maintain the framework of the established relations, backed up by the active role of the budget and the National Bank of Yugoslavia at the same time. The FEC's federal budget program additionally participates in the financial reorganization of banks and the servicing of the agency through allocations for social programs, that is agriculture, and allocations intended to support exports, that is concessions for ferrous metallurgy. Enormous funds are also being allocated for interest payments [ukamacivanje] on compulsory bank reserves in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which gives maximum support to the expansion programs and is intended to facilitate bank transactions.

Concessions for solving harvest financing, preparations for the new tourist season and the buying up of tobacco must also be sought within the banks. This, however, does not mean that the banks would be "amnestied" for those funds that they have already omitted. The problem is also how to get real funds for the forthcoming financial reorganization of banking institutions, and their concrete situation has not yet been fully examined. This job will be done by 20 March, announced the FEC president, and an agency will be constituted in the meantime.

Markovic warned that with a drop in production in February the wages went up, which means that the system is not yet functioning as it ought to. The changes in the structure of the capital were even smaller than the ones in the structure of economy because not even the banks were solving these matters in the right way.

As reported by the FEC Secretariat for Information, the bankers noted on this occasion that—amidst the application of the latest monetary measures from the monetary sphere—they were hit by serious unliquidity and shortage of dinar funds. Because of incompetent clients they became prisoners of their own investments because their money was not being returned. It is now especially important for banks to prevent bankruptcy funds for the enterprises with prospects. There are difficulties in securing necessary reserves in the National Bank and it was a joint conclusion that what is now crucial for banks is liquidity and not restrictions.

Having noted that a part of necessary funds was withdrawn, which means that bank transactions are undergoing changes and turning in a positive direction, Markovic stressed that the banks have only now been faced with an obstacle. But this is not mainly the consequence of the hardline framework of the monetary policy, but of inability to withdraw money from dubious accounts. In conclusion, the FEC president—states the Secretariat for Information—said that an agreement has been reached whereby the FEC, within the framework of its prsent monetary policy, should soon pass a number of measures to help the banks overcome their difficult situation and that are aimed at consolidating their income position.

Federation Falling Behind in Payments to Army

AU1403085590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 p 1

[B.M. report: "The Yugoslav People's Army Demands 8,697 Million Dinars From the Federation]

[Text] The funds of the federal budget—which this year stands at 75,317 million dinars, or $6.3 billion—earmarked for the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army amount to approximately 34,800 million dinars (or $2.8 billion). This year the Yugoslav People's Army will receive 4.5 percent of the national income, which is considerably less than, say, in 1976, when the provisions for the Army's needs were about 6 percent.

How the needs of the Army are serviced is best illustrated by the fact according to which by the end of March the federation will owe the Army 8,697 million dinars, or a quarter of the total amount payable. Up to the end of the February, the Army received only 3,553 million dinars, or 41 percent of the quarterly amount, or to be even more precise, 10.2 percent of the total annual allotment.

The federal budget is, in a way, experiencing the same thing itself. In the first two months, the federation received only 9,000 million dinars, which is slightly over 57 percent of the planned quarterly, or 12 percent of the total annual revenue.

Newspaper Supports Extension of Assembly Term

AU0103094190 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Feb 90 p 1

[Janko Lorenci "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Extension—A Necessary Evil"]

[Text] A short extension of the term of the present Federal Assembly (as proposed by the Assembly constitutional commission today) would probably be suitable because of certain legal difficulties, otherwise a strange mixture of deputies elected partly on the basis of the new pluralist system and partly on the basis of the old strictly monist one would settle in Belgrade. It seems at present that the extension will be strictly limited (until the beginning of the summer) and at the same time based on the condition that the only reason to extend the term may be a change in the appropriate regulations making pluralist elections in the whole of the country possible.

There have also been some proposals to extend the term for a year and to justify this with the state of emergency. Intentions are thus present to extend the life of this assembly—this basically illegitimate body—far into the future in an anachronistic way and thereby freeze the old times at the highest official level.

One can feel some quite definite political intentions behind this. The Federal Assembly has in many ways become a well-oiled machine for outvoting, and an extremely useful element in the federal triad (the assembly, the Presidency, the government) that is steering the Yugoslav ship under the influence of powerful northeastern winds and, for instance, giving its blessing to the state terror in Kosovo or Markovic's transparent equivocation about the Serbian boycott (Thank God that the Slovene Government has finally done something!).

A completely pluralistically elected assembly undoubtedly represents a promise and would perhaps mollify the interrepublican brawling. However, even such a parliament would continue to have an built-in basic construction defect: It would be bicameral and would therefore still make outvoting on some vital points possible.

Presidency Supports Constitutional Proposals

AU1303214190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Support for the Federal Executive Council and its Proposed Constitutional Changes"]

[Text] At yesterday's session, the SFRY Presidency gave support to the Federal Executive Council and its proposed constitutional changes and to the first drafts of bills that are possible to adopt, it is stressed in the statement, by the middle of April if all factors demonstrate total willingness for this. The full text of the statement says:

At a session that was chaired by Dr. Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency was briefed on the problems of conducting assembly elections, particularly those elections for Federal Chamber delegates of the SFRY Assembly, and on the measures and activities of responsible organs aimed at creating the essential constitutional legal and political prerequisites and conditions for these to be carried out as soon as possible.

The SFRY Presidency supports the Federal Executive Council, its proposed constitutional changes, and the first drafts of laws that can be adopted by the middle of April, if all factors demonstrate total willingness for this, particularly the assemblies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and the SFRY Assembly and its working bodies.

It is the assessment of the SFRY Presidency that by adopting the constitutional and legal changes by the aforementioned deadline, opportunities would be created for the elections for delegates of the Federal Chamber to be carried out by the end of June and for the SFRY Assembly to be elected by the end of July this year, with full regard for political and multiparty pluralism. In this way, the term of office of the delegates in the SFRY Assembly would be extended by two-and-half months, which would have a very positive effect on continued activity in implementing economic and political reform.

Within the framework of preparing all-encompassing measures and activities and the stabilization of the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the SFRY Presidency has asked the Federal Executive Council, in cooperation with the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, to make a priority task the formulation and proposal of a program for the integrated socioeconomic development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in which it is necessary to devote particular attention to the formulation of a new system of aid and investment in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo that is based on democratic principles and to an analysis of demographic trends that will be accompanied by proposals for measures.

Within the framework of talks with the World Bank, the SFRY Presidency has also asked the Federal Executive Council to initiate the bank's involvement in the preparation and realization of a new developmental Kosovo program. A report was also requested from the Federal Executive Council and the National Bank of Yugoslavia on the financial rescue of the banking system in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency adopted a political stand and made a decision on additional criteria for pardoning people who have been convicted of so-called political crimes. A specific proposal for pardoning people who fulfill these criteria will be formulated for the next session of the SFRY Presidency. The pardon will take in those whose activities were not directed at violently undermining the constitutional order and did not involve other violence, terrorism, and espionage, the statement concludes.

Federal Chamber on Citizens Associations Law

LD1603060790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—At its meeting today, the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber Committee for Internal Affairs adopted the stance that the law on the association of citizens in social organizations and alliances which are formed in Yugoslavia should be adopted by the regular procedure and not urgently as the Federal Executive Council has since requested.

Several times during the debate, attention was drawn to the inadequate title of the law. As Borislav Krajina said, a law is being adopted on social organizations and alliances, while what is meant in fact is the formation of political parties which are only coyly mentioned. The question is whether, for example, an association of beekeepers and a political party should be put on the same level. Krajina, like several other delegates, believes that the approach should be changed and the law devoted only to parties, and that the newly formed parties and movements should be consulted on its adoption. [passage omitted]

Citizens Forum Against Confidential Legislature

LD1603063190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The Citizens' Forum Against Confidentiality in Legislature today announced that it held a constructive meeting in Ljubljana last month. The Citizens' Forum, it is stressed, is not a political party and is not interested in participating in the assembly system. Its main objective is a prompt abolition and annulment of confidentiality in the state legislature. It will make efforts to see the publication of the special confidential edition of SFRY GAZETTE and similar official publications discontinued and will call for an end to the practice that state organs pass and enforce unpublicized confidential regulations.

According to the Citizens' Forum, the use of and reliance on confidential regulations are against not just the constitution but also the principles of legal ethics. The Forum will also call for an immediate change of the existing legislature in the SFRY and of the practice deployed by state organs. The Citizens' Forum Against Confidentiality in Legislature consists of 13 members with Dr. Lovro Sturm as its coordinator. [passage omitted]

Democratic Initiative Petitions Assembly

LD2602215490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1903 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] (?Belgrade), February 26 (TANJUG)—The Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative on Monday sent to the president of Yugoslav Parliament a petition requesting that the country's new constitution should be enacted by a freely elected constituent assembly.

To make it possible, the association wants an amendment to be passed to the existing Constitution. The petition, signed by nearly 16,000 persons, requests the urgent enactment of a law on the freedoms of citizens—the freedoms of association, public communications and election.

It also demands an equal participation of representatives of the present authorities, the opposition and the alternative groups in passing the law and devising the constitution.

The fulfilment of these requests would make it possible to come out peacefully of the present situation and set out towards a democratic order, holds the association, warning that any delay would carry growing risks for Yugoslav society and state.

An adjustment of views on the proposed changes in the federal Constitution that should, among other things, legalize a multiparty system is under way in Yugoslavia. Apart from this, three Yugoslav republics—Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina—have decided to hold the elections next April in a multiparty environment. The Republic of Macedonia has postponed the elections until April 1991 to give the newly formed parties enough time to register, put forward their programmes and take part in the elections.

Serbian Commission Views Constitution Issues

LD1503184990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The commission for constitutional questions of the Serbian Assembly today proposed to the Republican Assembly to give consent to the proposal of the SFRY Presidency for changing the federal Constitution by way of adopting a new one.

The commission also examined the proposal of the Slovene Presidency on the federation and relations in the federation that, at the request of the SFRY presidency, should be taken into account in the process of drafting a new constitution. In the assessment of the Serbian Assembly constitutional commission, this document cannot be considered as a component part of the SFRY Presidency proposal because the Slovene Presidency is not an authorized proposer of amendments and addenda to the federal Constitution.

Serbian Students, Teachers Issue Statement

LD1603100390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1102 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Having monitored the implementation of the conclusions of the SFRY Assembly at its 7-9 February session regarding the resolution of the problems of Kosovo and Metohija, we express our dissatisfaction with the implementation of the conclusions, reads the public statement by the organizational committee of students and teaching staff of Serbian universities. The statement was released to TANJUG today. Students of all faculties in Belgrade University will be informed of the content of this protest today.

The statement stresses that the decision on the deportation of [Albanian] immigrants has not been implemented and that Pristina University is still a bastion of Albanian chauvinism and separatism.

This is confirmed by the fact that the move of students into dormitory No. 5 [which Serbia and Montenegrin students should occupy] is lagging behind, which, according to the order of the provincial Executive Council, should have been filled with students of goodwill by 5 March, the statement notes.

In the knowledge of what has happened until now, and especially in the past few days, to students attending lessons in the Serbo-Croat language in Pristina—they were forced to save their lives twice by fleeing to Kosovo Polje—the promises of Albanian students to guarantee their full safety sound hypocritical. Thus, one of our main demands is that problems in the student center be resolved as soon as possible. With this protest, we are saying that we will persevere in our demands for the resolution of the Kosovo problem, concluded the statement of the organizational committee of students and teaching staff of Serbian universities.

Split in Serbian National Renaissance Cited

LD1503114990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—After the two news conferences arranged today by the opposing sides of the "notorious" political organization, the Serbian National Renaissance, the situation has become somewhat clearer: the "Pazova group" will continue to operate under the name Serbian National Renaissance (SNR) with an unchanged program, while the former ideologist of the party, Vuk Draskovic, together with the like-minded Vojislav Seselj, has proclaimed the formation of a new party called the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SRM).

Following the split, however, it remains unclear what course the members of the "former" SNR, to whom both sides claim a right, will take, and to whom, what the "Pazova faction" claims are enormous, sums collected abroad for what was up until yesterday a united SNR belong.

First, having been expelled from the hall and restaurant of the Majestic [Hotel] today, Vuk Draskovic and Vojislav Seselj held an outdoor news conference in Republic Square in front of the Knez Mihailo monument. They announced that on behalf of the SRM and the Serbian Freedom Movement, Draskovic and Seselj had signed a declaration of amalgamation of these parties into one party called the Serbian Renaissance Movement. At the head of the "party" is Draskovic, ready, as he said, to fight "for an order that will rid the Serbian people of communist, papist and other shackles."

Having respect for Yugoslav ideals, the declaration says, the SRM does not want to destroy Yugoslavia. Draskovic did not want to talk about the "lads from Pazova," so as not to, as he said, "add fuel to the fire." He said that "a leopard cannot change its spots" and explained that they would be fighting for the same aims under a "new banner." [passage omitted: Draskovic claims the Nova Pazova group is manipulated by Zoran Todorovic, former Belgrade Socialist Alliance of Working People president; news conference of the Pazova SNR says it will continue its work without Draskovic, accuses him of megalomania, announces founding assembly in a month or two]

Reform Program of Serbian LC Session Noted

LD1503144190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The crisis affecting our society requires the rapid implementation of a radical reform of the state and society —with a market-orientated economy, and democracy in politics. The reform program adopted by the Serbian League of Communists [LC] at its 11th congress represents a fruitful link between the future and the present, and the democratic traditions of Serbia: An achievement of the national liberation war and revolution, self-managing democracy, the socialist and democratic traditions of Svetozar Markovic and Dimitrije Tucovic, as well as the important achievements of the (?liberal) and bourgeois traditions. We are building into its new identity the democratic and freedom-loving traditions of the Serbian and Yugoslav workers' movement and of the Serbian Social Democratic Party, in other words the party that campaigned for a new world on the side of the poor, the disenfranchized, and the exploited.

This was stressed today at the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee devoted to the activity of the LC in the conditions of political pluralism by Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium member Ratomir Vico. At the session there is also discussion of the situation (?after the adjourned) 14th extraordinary party congress.

We are proud of the fact that in 1941 the Communist Party, when all other parties fled regardless, stayed with the people and led them in the liberation war and revolution. We are proud of the strength and courage we had in the conflict with Stalin, Vico said, and added that we are also proud that today the Serbian LC, despite all the pressures from within the country and abroad, is successfully implementing the program of its campaign to establish Serbia as [passage indistinct]

In the whole of its [word indistinct], since the eighth session, with the constitutional changes in Serbia that were campaigned for by reform orientations that are the negation of the concept of the consensus economy and of the notion of the nonownership of social property, and the negation of a system that neglected the role of citizens, the Serbian LC [words indistinct] those who advocate change only verbally, without changing either the practice or the exponents of the (?outmoded) system and who, behind a smokescreen of the ostensible struggle for democracy, hold all the strings in those same hands that hitherto have controlled things and conducted bureaucratic policy, created the system of the consensus economy and ostensibly of associated labor, and the disintegration of Yugoslav society.

We can quite calmly state that today it is quite clear that no one can escape historical responsibility. And special historical responsibility is borne by those who, despite decades of unlimited (?power), omitted to work for the democratic integration of Yugoslavia. Because contrary to the historical interests of the Yugoslav peoples and contrary also to developments in postwar Europe, Yugoslavia, by making irresponsible experiments in the sphere of the state and social system, (?has been broken up and led toward becoming a disintegrated community). An anti-Serbian disposition [words indistinct] has been intensified in one or two republics and the Serbian people tendentiously accused [words indistinct]. This old music in a new form today is attempting to stifle, by its aggressive arrogance, the truth that fortunately these days cannot be concealed for long.

It is as if individual party officials in some republics and former Communists, and who knows what generals, today leaders of nationalist parties, in the last few days have been (?resisting) the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Dresden, and who are under the direct influence of the Comintern and Stalin, [passage indistinct] states: Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, in Kosovo the struggle for an independent and united Albania, as well as the recognition of the right of the Hungarian national minority to secession. In their separatist fanaticism, they forget that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia itself fundamentally refuted this policy by its call to the peoples of Yugoslavia to defend their common fatherland from fascist conquerors.

Just as accusing the Serbian people of hegemonism was of service to the Comintern in destroying Yugoslavia, today, anti-Serbian sentiment and the dreaming up of the danger of hegemonism serve open (?secession), Vico said.

The attitude of Serbia towards Yugoslavia and that of the Serbian LC towards the League of Communists [LCY] and the democratic and socialist values that prevail among the republic's public, are of such a nature that they do not provide any reason for fearing the Serbian nation and Serbia, something nationalists have spread among the Slovene and Croatian public, and now there are also attempts at spreading this fear among other republics, nations and nationalities, Vico said as he added that Serbia advocated equality not only at the federal level, but also equality of nations and nationalities within each federal unit.

The Serbian people in Kosovo have stood up to the violence in Kosovo by organizing themselves, and without embarking on any form of violence. We can say, while not being immodest, that the first democratic movement of the people in Europe against bureacracy happened in Serbia, and in the course of it the people demonstrated a political culture that may be envied by the most civilized nations in the world.

By noting that the secret of Western democracies' stability is enshrined in their consensus on fundamental social values, Ratomir Vico pointed out that human rights and freedoms, democracy, a law-governed state, the unity of Serbia as a state, the territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia, the federal system, equality of nations and nationalities, and Yugoslavia's independence are those issues that should not cause conflicts either between political parties or other participants in political [words indistinct]. The all-social agreement on the country's fundamental issues will drive the advocates of interethnic hatred and revenge, and those obscure types captured by the past, who have also surfaced to the political stage, on to the margin and render them insignificant. It is clear, Vico said, that we do not even consider to cooperate or flirt with them as opposed to some leaderships that are losing their own membership's trust. We are fighting those retrograde and conservative forces by explaining to citizens that those forces want to take them back to some hopeless past and to entice into civil war. [passage omitted: Vico says all forms of ownership should be equal, but social ownership must not be abolished or sold out to private entrepreneurs by force]

We are committed to resolve the long-standing economic stagnation, crisis, and poverty by setting in motion a new, powerful developmental cycle that will create conditions for Serbia's economy to be modern, market-oriented, and capable of ensuring full economic efficacy, Vico said. He added that Serbia advocates broad cooperation with other countries, and that the Serbian LC would resolutely advocate Yugoslavia's EC membership.

We favor Serbia as a republic of free people, where its rights and freedoms will encompass everything that is known to the modern world in this respect. This means that the state and its organs operate on the basis of law rather than on the basis of the political or bureacratic will of anyone or any party, that assemblies should be the real bearers of authority, that the governement is accountable to the Assembly, and that the juciciary is independent. Therefore, the existence of the autonomous and responsible democratic public is necessary, one whose truth conditions all communication in modern civilization. The citizen must be the principal subject of such a state and society, and have full freedom of expressing opinions and political association, Vico stated.

Organizing within various parties is an indispensable prerequisite for political pluralism. Political pluralism means, however, more than just pluralism of parties. In a developed democracy parties do not occupy the entire sphere of politics. Social movements, associations, citizens' initiatives, ecological and peace movements, movements for human rights, democratic freedoms, equality of women, youth movements—albeit mostly assuming a socio-cultural character—exercise a significant influence on political decision-making and even on the legislative activities of assemblies. Their direct actions at solving essential problems can be ignored neither by the state nor by the parties. [passage omitted: Serbian LC will advocate a federation with powers ensuring Yugoslavia's unified market.)

We insist on the preservation of the YNA [Yugoslav Peoples' Army] role of being the guard of the country's independence and territorial integrity in its capacity as the united armed forces of Yugoslavia, that is, of all its nations and nationalities. This means that the federal organs, particularly the SFRY Presidency, cannot, and must not, be enabled to procrastinate, either through their procedures or in any other way, any decision-making when the territorial integrity of any republic or of the country as a whole is at stake.

We advocate that both in Serbia and Yugoslavia the new constitutions be passed as soon as possible. The system's fundamentals should be a result of a consensus of parties, the government, or the Assembly.

The Serbian [word indistinct] has adopted a detailed program for resolving the Kosovo crisis. We will do our best to implement this program, Ratomir Vico said.

Speaking about the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, Vico stressed that this adjournment was a sign of the deep crisis the LCY has long fallen a prey to, and added that the walking out of the congress on the part of the delegates of the Slovene LC had demonstrated their exclusiveness and unacceptance of the principles of democratic agreement.

We favor the LCY as a modern, democratic Yugoslav political party comprising LC members organized in the the republican LC's and the provincial LC's that are incorporated in the Serbian LC and in the LC organization in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army. The LCY ought to operate along unified programmic and statutory fundamentals that develop the programmic and organizational independence and equality of all the LCY parts. We maintain that we ought to base relations within the LCY and the Serbian LC on the principles of democratic unity, which also imply: Full democratization in our decision-making, that one is fully duty bound by adopted commitments and decisions and the principle of majority rule, Vuco said, and added that decisions about the essential questions should be made by the congress and its membership.

In this respect, the Serbian LC differs from those leaderships that arrive at their key statutory and programmic commitments without their membership. Vico said that the Serbian LC insisted that it should be precise and listed what questions should be subject to the agreement of all the LCY parts in the course of decision-making at the LCY Central Committee and congress, so as to forestall the danger of [passage indistinct] to set up a regular congress, Vico said. The Croatian LC Central Committee dismisses the decision of the 14th congress that the congress should be resumed. The Croatian LC Central Committee does not have the right to do this, nor can any organ in any democratic party in the world entitle itself to such a right. By their commitment to cease membership in the LCY and by advocating "the federal LCY," the Croatian LC Central Committee sides with the concept of the Slovene LC according to which the LCY was to be transformed into an alliance of independent republican LC's.

We maintain that the LCY must operate in a uniform way [passage indistinct]. Neither will we endlessly wait for our political existence to be "approved" by some agreement of others. Imposed unity is not in the interest of the LCY, and we do not want to impose it. Those who are committed to Yugoslavia will certainly unite, but we do not even consider calling on those who will not change their mind, just as we even less entertain any idea about waiting for them to change their mind. Let responsibility, before this people and history, lay with those who have been destroying unity, Vico said.

The programmic framework that was agreed in the document of the LCY Central Committee Presidium's working group was flexible enough, at least in its fundamentals, to encompass all our differences of details. But this framework cannot embrace the commitment to Yugoslavia as a confederation, republican armies, and viewing the LCY as a loose coalition of republican parties. Neither can this framework accommodate those programs that abuse the Serbian people's national feelings and those who see Kosovo outside Serbia and Yugoslavia, Ratomir Vico said drawing his introductory address to a close.

[passage omitted: Jurij Bajec says that the Serbian LC's program addresses its membership and all potential voters; Milos Sekulovic criticizes the LCY CC document; Ivan Radic and Cviko Krunic praise the eighth session of the Serbian LC; Krunic says party membership is declining but the situation is not alarming]

Dejan Popovic's said that the eighth session revealed the true nature of the Brioni [Brioni plenum at which Tito deposed Aleksandar Rankovic] Yugoslavia.

The Slovene LC offers as a minimum a confederation that might perhaps save Yugoslavia. This is, in fact, a completed "Lithuanian scenario" for departure from Yugoslavia. A similar stance is being advocated in Croatia by all its parties, from the Croatian LC to the Croatian Democratic Community, since breaking up the LCY is just part of that scenario, Popovic said.

We are now accused, just as we were on all those occasions when the party provided new breakthroughs, of betraying communism, which is of course wrong, Vladimir Stambuk said, just as it is not true that the Serbian LC has been coerced into reforms,or that the LC has worn out its role in society. All these accusations are refuted by the document we propose. We are not coerced, but committed to a richer and more humane socialism, and now the LC admittedly wants power, not merely for the sake of power itself but precisely because it wants to implement such socialism, Stambuk concluded.

Drasko Milicevic captured the Central Committee members' attention by his remarks about the document. The vocabulary, wording, and form of this program correspond with the spirit of certain past times, while not only are some of its parts at odds with other documents in certain areas, but they also nullify those parts, something that, for example, happened to the documents of the Commission for Reform of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Declaration of the 14th Extraordinary Congress, Milicevic said. In short, he proposed that the extracts anchored in Marxism and other ideological mainstays be eradicated from the program, as also should the possibility of setting up LC organizations in firms since, as he said, it is work that should take place in firms, not parties. Equality of all forms of ownership should be endorsed, the stock exchange-oriented economy should be given a more advantageous position than self-management, and the commitment to Yugoslavia's full participation in European integrational processes and organizations should be included in the document, he said. Milicevic finished his addressed by saying that the question of changing the party's name must be raised among its membership; he personally favors the name Socialist Democratic Party.

Predrag Zivanovic replied by opposing the removal of LC organizations from work organizations. [passage omitted: Snezana Aleksic and Branko Stefanovic say that the parties's political adversaries make use of its past mistakes because it has failed to address its mistakes; Ljubisa Igic says that the transformation of the LC is not a result of coercion]

Vlajko Petrovic, commenting on the current initiatives for dispensing with Marxism, said that no party can do without ideology, so an adequate replacement should be found. Social ownership cannot be expunged either, for there can be no socialism without it, one should ensure equality of all ownership forms.

Momcilo Trajkovic noted that there is a realistic threat that the Kosovo LC would be forced to retreat, since it is not only attacked by Albanian nationalists and separatists and their aides, those who break up Yugoslavia, but at the same time it is damaging itself by its inertia, opportunism, and incompetence. It is necessary for the Kosovo LC to draw up an offensive program to counter the aggressive alternative movements since it, such as it is, will surely lose power, and then the situation in Kosovo will be a very difficult one in view of the fact that the alternative movements are against unity, as they offer confrontations and bloodshed. [passage omitted: Milutin Mrkonjic and Dragoljub Milanovic speak on the party's name; Stojan Savic says party's name should reflect changes in society; Tahir Hasanovic says Serbian LC accepts political pluralism as a way of mobilizing creative energies]

Following the debate, in which over 40 Serbian LC Central Committee members took part, Bogdan Trifunovic made a closing speech.

The Central Committee then adopted a document about "the main orientations of Serbian LC as a Party of Democratic Socialism." The document will be amended by a number of suggestions made at today's session, and will then be submitted to the Serbian LC membership and the public for consideration.

The Serbian LC Central Committee today also adopted stances on the interruption and resumption of the work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

The Central Committee today also upheld a complaint by the basic LC organization of the Pirot district judicial organs, thus rescinding a decision by Pirot LC municipal committee disbanding the basic LC organization of Pirot district judicial organs.

Presents Draft Platform

LD1503160790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] [No dateline as received]—The Serbian League of Communists [LC] has as part of its heritage the democratic and liberal gains that characterized Serbia at the beginning of the 20th century, and that raised the reputation of our nation and culture in Europe and the world. We are proud to emphasize that we are continuing the ideas of Svetozar Markovic, Dimitrije Tucovic, and the Serbian Social Democratic Party.

These stances were stressed at the beginning of the draft orientations of the Serbian LC as a party for democratic socialism, with which the Serbian LC is emerging as a modern political party, and defining its own position in the newly created realm of political ideas and programs. This document, adopted at the Serbian LC Central Committee session, is being sent for public debate with certain suggestions made at today's session included.

In our activity, we also draw on the revolutionary gains and progressive achievements of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—the LCY, the program goes on, particularly underlining the new identity of the Serbian LC, developed after the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which is affirming itself and developing as a party for democratic socialism, for a prosperous and economically successful society founded on the broadest liberties and rights of citizens and their full equality.

We are an organization of voluntarily associated individuals, open to all citizens who embrace our program and statute, regardless of their world outlook and differing religious convictions. The theoretical basis of our party comprises, in addition to Marxism, all other progressive studies on society, regardless of the socioeconomic system within which they originated.

The Serbian LC will be organized on territorial principles, and in these forms will operate as a party of society, while in enterprises it will maintain the principle of the work organization, and in this way will also show itself to be a party of the modern working class. The Serbian LC will advocate self-management, but not the unrealizable "integral self-management," and the participation of all workers in the management of enterprises in accordance with their ownership structure. It expects the state to fulfil the role of a subject of social policy.

The Serbian LC is for changes and unity in the LCY on the program goals outlined in this document, and in the declaration of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, and in the related program orientations of the republican

LC's. Such a modern, democratic and socialist party of the left should operate throughout Yugoslavia in the interests of its unity.

Judging by the draft orientations, the Serbian LC, as a political party, desires relations of full respect with all parties, and will cooperate with political organizations of democratic and leftist orientations. Membership of the Serbian LC will not be incompatible with membership of other social organizatios, associations of citizens and movements.

In addition to the fulfillment and protection of civil liberties and rights, the Serbian LC will also advocate freedom of expression, freedom of political orientation and organization, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of the press, as well as free trade union organisation and association. Ideological exclusiveness, supervision of creativity, and its subservience to political needs are a thing of the past for us, the document stresses.

The draft platform of the Serbian LC as a party of democratic socialism emphasizes the already well-known orientation of the Communists of this republic with regard to a market economy and the equality of all forms of ownership, radical agricultural reforms, and respect for the national rights of all nations and nationalities, including the national rights of members of the Serbian nation in other Yugoslav republics and in neighboring countries where they live as national minorities.

Calls for a democratic, modern and efficient Yugoslavia as a federation of equal citizens and federal units, and as a community of equal nations and nationalities are reiterated, as well as the well-known stances on the organization of the federal organs, particularly the Federal Assembly. The new SFRY Constitution and the new constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia also form part of the document, while stances with regard to Kosovo are expanded on in a special program that the Serbian LC recently adopted. Finally, calling for an "ecologically responsible society," the Serbian LC stresses that the right to a healthy life in a healthy environment is the most important human right, and its protection is one of the most important functions of the law-governed state.

Serbia's Bogdanovic Speaks at Kosovo Protest

AU1503103690 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Mar 90 p 8

[R.G. report: "An Equal Ethnic Balance Must Be Created in Kosovo"]

[Text] Istok, 9 Mar—More than 500 Serbs and Montenegrins of Istok Commune held a protest meeting yesterday in the Culture Hall, which was attended by Radmilo Bogdanovic, Serbian republican secretary for internal affairs, and the Istok communal leadership.

As Momo Pumpalovic said in his opening speech, the reason for holding the meeting was the failure to act on the conclusions of the meeting of 26 February, which included demands for the reorganization of the internal affairs organs in Istok and the province, and the slow pace of ideopolitical differentiation among the personnel of these organs and in other communal bodies. Almost all the speakers, each in his own way, raised a number of issues connected with the work of the internal affairs organs and what they called the shortcomings that must be ascribed to Albanian separatists working within them. They called for various communal officials to be held to account, claiming that they are not helping to stabilize the situation. Another demand was for the irrevocable resignation of Jusuf Karakushi, provincial secretary for internal affairs, because, as Dragi Bulatovic said, he intervened to secure the release of seven Albanian separatists who were brought to the Istok militia station on 24 February. This speaker also said that we will fight to the last Serb in the Balkans, and will not allow Kosovo to become a republic.

He also criticized various communal leaders, alleging that their children took part in the demonstrations. He called for the resignation of Isa Osmanaj, manager of the Radusa factory in Istok. Momo Pumpalovic called the appeal of the Kosovo Alternative to avoid conflicts with Serbs and Montenegrins a piece of separatist trickery. According to Mihajlo Petrusic, "separatists are being elected to every position of leadership," while for Blagoje Zuvic the Albanian children who took to the streets "are not the children of separatists, but of fascists." He demanded the resignations of Agim Bajraktari, the Istok militia chief, and Jusuf Karakushi. Slobo Maksimovic presented a summary demand that Serbian and Montenegrin children should have separate classes, only in the mornings.

Radmilo Bogdanovic also spoke at this meeting, saying that it was Albanian nationalism that had made this single-nationality gathering necessary. I have come to learn about your grievances, even though I have already been informed about many things in various ways. The charges leveled here against the internal affairs organs are reasonable. He said that Serbia now has the strength and authority to organize itself better against the separatists and to let them know that Kosovo will never be a republic and that they can never hope to separate Kosovo from Serbia and to form Greater Albania. In connection with the program to bring back thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, Bogdanovic said that the program must be carried out in order to create an equal ethnic balance in favor of Serbia. He also added that Serbia will fight with all its strength to obliterate Albanian separatism, even though there are signs among Albanian emigres abroad that suggest the organization of a mass uprising. You have no reason to worry, because this time Serbia will triumph, he said.

Conclusions were approved at this meeting. It was decided that Serbian and Montenegrin pupils should have separate classes in the mornings, that Jusuf Karakushi and the communal leaders criticized here should resign, that the internal affairs organs should be reorganized, and that all workers living abroad who are against Yugoslavia should be forbidden to return.

Law on Serbia's Public Loan Amended

AU2802144390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 90 p 10

[B. Cpajak report: "Interest on Foreign Currency Loan Fixed"]

[Text] Amendments to the Law on Economic Reconstruction of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which were adopted in the Serbian Assembly the day before yesterday, have increased the dinar part of the floated public loan from 200 million dinars to 600 million dinars.

As envisioned, the foreign currency bonds will be issued in U.S. dollars, Swiss francs, German marks, and French francs, and will be redeemable over 10 years through 10 coupons that can be submitted for cashing every six months starting with 31 December 1994 [figures as published].

The repayment of the monies due (principal and interest) per bonds issued in foreign currency can be in either the dinars or in foreign currency, as requested.

The interest on the bonds issued in foreign currency and the savings earmarked for the loan will be fixed. The annual rate of interest for the U.S. dollar will be 12 percent, for the German mark and the Swiss franc 10 percent, and for the French franc 15 percent. The interest due for the period 1 July of this year until 30 June 1994 will be added to the nominal value of the bonds.

Interest on the fixed foreign currency savings will be paid once a year and the first interest will be paid out on 1 January 1991.

Slovenian Social Democrat Leader Cited

PM0103104490 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 23 Feb 90 p 14

[Report on interview with Slovenian Social Democratic Party leader Joze Pucnik by Carlo Correr in Ljubljana; date not given]

[Text] His trial 25 years ago was the last of the Stalinist trials—or at least the most important, so he says. Joze Pucnik, then a Communist, was tried and sentenced for an article in which he put forward an unorthodox theory about matters relating to agricultural reform. He spent a total of seven years in prison, and as soon as he was released he emigrated to the FRG. There he was forced to re-enroll at university because the Yugoslav authorities refused to send him his degree certificate, which would have made it easier for him to find a job. Later he was appointed professor of sociology, a post that he retained until his return to his homeland at the beginning of last year. Now Pucnik is leader of the Slovenian Social Democratic Party and Demos candidate in the presidential elections to be held in April. Demos groups together five parties: apart from the Social Democrats, the Peasant Alliance, the Christian Democrats, the environmentalists, and the Slovenian Democratic Union. We met with him in Ljubljana.

[Correr] Mr. Pucnik, you are chairman of the Social Democratic Party but also Demos' presidential candidate. What links Demos to the Social Democrats?

[Pucnik] There are basically two different kinds of things that link us. First, there are practical considerations. The five parties that created Demos are structurally, organizationally weak; they have few cadres and are not professional politicians. So none of them on its own would have a sufficient chance of victory in the presidential elections. Second, there are the political aspects.

In fact there is a combination of reasons. These include the agreement to change the political system in Slovenia by introducing a multiparty system, the demand for independent courts, the transfer of powers to parliament, and all the other fundamental issues relating to a law-based state. We have no experience of elections. For three generations we never had a free election, which is why people will find it difficult to choose among a myriad of parties. We have been forced to simplify the situation, which is why we created two blocs. Us on the one hand and the alliance of the former League of Communists with the Socialist Party on the other.

[Correr] Demos is composed of five parties. What are the differences between the major parties of the coalition, namely, yourselves, the Christian Democrats, and the Peasant Alliance?

[Pucnik] The easiest distinction to make is between us and the Peasant Alliance. The latter party adheres closely to peasants' interests and to trade union matters related to farming. The Christian Democrats adhere, above all, to certain ethical values of a religious and even theological basis. This is reflected, for instance, in the rejection of the right to abortion. The differences with us are more subtle. For instance, we share the principle of political pluralism and human rights observance. In particular on this latter point, we believe that we must give priority to observance of fundamental human rights with respect to the state. On this we do not agree even with the Communist Party's new course, which still follows the guidelines of an old policy based on 19th-century ideas. At that time, these ideas had a specific function: They served to mobilize the working class, to organize the trade unions. Now this idea of socialism linked to Marxist theories is obsolete, and what is needed is, rather, a political theory that can take account of the new social problems.

[Correr] Where does the Social Democratic Party intend to gather its votes? Among workers, clerical staff: Where?

[Pucnik] This party's chief characteristic is that few of its members now have no professional qualifications. The majority of them are upper middle class. There are clerical staff but there are also many intellectuals and our grass roots are among the intelligentsia, graduates, and professionals. Here in Slovenia, as in Italy, the working class hadly exists any more. What is left of it has a passive role, has little interest in politics, is resigned and even frightened. We want to be a modern-type party—a party fighting for power but that wants to pursue a policy for everyone. This is not a demagogic answer, it is a technological answer. We are aiming to create not a mass party but a party for people with a strong social awareness.

[Correr] How strong is the Social Democratic Party?

[Pucnik] At present we are not a strong party. We will find out how strong we are in the elections, but in any case we can say that we are one of the three major political forces in Slovenia.

[Correr] With what parties abroad do you maintain relations?

[Pucnik] We have relations with 24 European parties. In general, these are formal relations, but with three or four of them they are very intensive. Our main aim—at the risk of again seeming demagogic—is to bring Slovenia into Europe.

[Correr] The changes in Slovenia and those taking shape in Croatia: The transition in Yugoslavia is taking place at different rates and in different ways. Is this right? Will it be necessary to change the institutional frame of reference?

[Pucnik] It is impossible for the whole of Yugoslavia to change and move toward democracy according to the same timetable and at the same rate. This is taking place in different ways, and it is right for this to be so because the republics are different from one another. As for more general considerations, at the moment I see no possibility of creating the same constitutional frame of reference for all parts of Yugoslavia.

[Correr] Why is this process of transition to democracy faster in Slovenia than elsewhere?

[Pucnik] To explain this it is necessary to refer to Slovenia's history—principally from the economic viewpoint, but also because of a geographical factor, since Slovenia lies between Austria and Italy. All this creates a series of connections—not only in tourism but also cultural, spiritual, and scientific. Furthermore, the credit for this renewal lies also with the alternative political forces that have helped to make this development possible.

[Correr] What about Kosovo? How will it influence the situation?

[Pucnik] I am afraid that this conflict will continue and ultimately even extend beyond Kosovo's borders to reach other parts of Yugoslavia. In our opinion the only answer is to grant Kosovo the status of a republic. What happened in the past must be forgotten. The Serbs must realize that they have two choices: Either they grant the Albanians complete autonomy as a republic or they will have to kill them all.

[Correr] In the Italian newspapers the ethnic conflict in Kosovo has been compared to the Palestinian intifadah [uprising]. Do you believe this is correct?

[Pucnik] Yes, it is correct; it is my opinion, too. Until the Serbian Government's policy changes the conflict will not abate.

[Correr] Despite the past, your replies never reveal the virus of revanchism. Have you forgotten it all?

[Pucnik] I do my utmost not to talk about the past. Nevertheless, I do comment on some errors, but I immediately correct myself because revanchism is not merely a personal, moral issue: It is a matter that regards the whole of Slovenia. If we want to extricate ourselves from this situation we cannot continue looking at the past; we absolutely must turn to the future. To rummage in the past would be not only unjust but also a terrible mistake, because it would create a handicap for the future.

Resignations From LC in Kosovo

AU2802215890 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 24 Feb 90 p 18

[S.P. report: "Return of Party Cards Continues"]

[Text] Despite the very serious and involved political situation in Vucitrn Commune, ideopolitical activity has been largely paralyzed. Some League of Communists [LC] basic organizations have been left virtually without a single member, others have been halved, and in some only Serbian and Montenegrin members are left. The LC Communal Committee for a time refused to accept returned party cards, but has now begun to do so.

Almost all LC basic organizations have been sending such reports to the media, showing that so far about 1,000 Communists have resigned.